



Daily Report

East Europe

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Polish 'Revisionist Counterrevolution' Viewed

AU0709111289 Tirana PUNA in Albanian
1 Sep 89 p 4

[Hasan Pinci article: "What Will 'Solidarity' Do for the Polish Workers Class?"]

[Text] One week ago, the final act in the drama of the Polish United Workers Party's fall from power was played out. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the well-known adviser of "Solidarity," was charged with forming a new Polish government. His spokesmen, in tones of triumph, announced that the fate of the nation is now in the hands of "Solidarity." This act was applauded by United States imperialism and the Western European bourgeoisie, and also enjoys the approval of the Gorbachevite revisionists. This was the logical conclusion of the expected defeat of the Polish revisionists. Our party predicted this end a long time ago, because the anti-Marxist course of the modern revisionists cannot fail to lead to the full restoration of capitalism, and this course causes crises, confusion, illusions, and irremediable disasters. Current events in Poland and other revisionist countries are an indisputable confirmation of this prediction.

In the ground prepared by the Polish revisionist counterrevolution, a further counterrevolution took root. Inspired and incited by both domestic and imperialist reaction, it exploited the legitimate grievances of the workers class in order to manipulate them and encourage them to revolt to achieve the goals of reaction. Under these circumstances, "Solidarity," as a movement guided by domestic reaction and powerfully supported by the international bourgeoisie, assumed among some sections of the Polish workers class the image of a savior, who has now been given the rights of a "victor." How long will this image be preserved, and what will the "Solidarity" government do for the workers class? Time will tell. However, before even taking his first steps in power, Lech Walesa, the leader of "Solidarity," supplied the answer to these questions himself, saying publicly that "What we are trying to achieve in Poland is the transition from socialism (read: revisionism) to capitalism." In other words, nothing more nor less than a classic capitalist regime, in order to restore "the situation that existed before the War, when Poland was a capitalist country." This, in short, is the program of "Solidarity," which, for this reason, has aroused enthusiasm and a readiness to offer the necessary help among all capitalist countries, under the extremely excited leadership of U.S. imperialism. Even the "Solidarity" government pins its hopes on such aid, in order to make the illusion or image that has been created of this government more credible. The day after his appointment as the future prime minister, Mazowiecki met U.S. Senator Robert Dole and instructed him, "Tell President Bush that people who give help fast help twice as much." At a news conference the day before yesterday, Lech Walesa stretched out his palm for \$10 billion and said, "Poland could collapse like a house of cards if we are not helped by the West." Bush did not leave him waiting for long,

but answered that this help would not be lacking from both the United States and its allies. There is no doubt that this aid will be speedily given to "Solidarity," not to bring plenty and prosperity to the Polish people, but to enable "Solidarity" to hold it in its vise. At first, these forms of aid and credit may serve as an injection to cope with the current, acute crisis. Otherwise, as it has openly admitted, "Solidarity" would not even accept the task of governing the country. However, the fresh loans and debts will add to the oppression and exploitation of the Polish workers class and working masses. Even before, the revisionist regime had no shortage of loans and credit from the capitalist world to help its capitalist reforms. The amount loaned to Poland by Western banks now exceeds \$38 billion, and this has been one of the principal factors in the deepening general crisis, and at the same time a noose round the neck of the Polish revisionist debtors held in the hands of the international bourgeoisie. Now this noose will tighten even further, and the burden borne by the people will become heavier.

There is no doubt, in the future as in the past, that it is the Polish workers class who will in the first place pay the cost of these debts. The "Solidarity" government will now further strengthen its ties with the West and its dependency on the West, in order, as it admits, to hasten the processes of capitalist reform. Under such conditions, the Polish workers class will merely change their masters. Oppression and exploitation will be undisguised, both de facto and de jure. The same "Solidarity" that once called for strikes will ask people to forget them. Immediately after the appointment of Mazowiecki as prime minister, Lech Walesa called on striking railroad workers, who were demanding higher wages, to return to work. "Strike activity," he said, "is a provocation against the first prime minister chosen on the initiative of 'Solidarity.'" In short, it can already be said that no good will come to the Polish working masses from the rightist headquarters of "Solidarity."

Pali Miska at Vietnamese Embassy Reception

AU0109192889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Vietnam's independence, Le Ngoc Thanh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, hosted a reception at the Embassy premises.

The reception was attended by Comrade Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Prof Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations; deputies of the People's Assembly, representatives of the press, science, culture, the arts, and other

guests. Heads of diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were also present.

Youth Leader on Influence of Rock Music

*AU0709092189 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian
30 Aug 89 p 1-2*

["From the Speech of Comrade Mehmet Elezi," first secretary of Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee, at a plenum of the Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee in Tirana on 29 August: "Militancy and Persuasive Arguments Reinforce Educational Work"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Let us work harder to persuade people with sound arguments, avoiding bureaucratic tendencies. I shall concentrate on the example of a questionnaire on musical tastes organized in one district recently. The aim was to identify what kind of music our young people most like, so that we can respond to their tastes more in our musical life. The questionnaire was simple and anonymous. Each person could say what kind of music he preferred; there were a few indicators of profession, age, and sex, and that was all. No names were mentioned. The young people filled in the forms very well. Some people said they liked light music, some folk music, and others preferred classical pieces. Three people did "the unthinkable" and wrote that they preferred "rock" music.

This was enough to make the organizers of the questionnaire shiver almost as if in fever, and to start asking persistent questions. "Who are these people who prefer 'rock'? Who could have written that? We must find them at once."

It is obvious that it is not at all a good thing that these three young people follow blindly this kind of music, which is far from the values of true art. But let us look at the matter from another angle. How were these comrades going to approach the problem? Instead of identifying its causes and setting themselves tasks, they mounted an "investigation."

This poses two problems, one of working methods, and another of ethics.

As regards our working methods, the basic issue, in this specific case, is not which member of the Albanian Union of Working Youth likes this sort of music, and his name. It is not, after all, difficult to find him. Something else is more important: the fact that some young people (it does not matter who), who could maybe be counted on one's fingers, like this music. What must be done? Measures must be taken. For example, one or more discussion sessions could be organized on the origin, content, values and anti-values of this music, placing it in its historical context.

Moreover, there is the question of how can we meet the needs of our evening dances for healthy and educational songs and instrumental pieces. This requires concrete proposals and thought on the part of the youth organization and cultural bodies regarding radio and television concerts and festivals and broadcasts of various kinds, and all the more so when some young people write about "rock" in a snobbish and copycat fashion, because they have seen and heard it on television, and think they make themselves more "interesting" by becoming like "them."

To waste time and energy in tracking down "names" in such a case means not to tackle the core of the matter, and to fail to combat the phenomenon. After all, three people wrote honestly, but there might be 3 or 13 others with the same tastes, but who did not admit to them. What name do we give such people, and do we consider the matter closed because we have found the "three?"

From the ethical angle, the questionnaire was anonymous for a certain purpose, so that people would express themselves freely. Why then should you violate that principle of sincerity, which you decided upon yourself? Another day, a young person in a similar situation will not speak out, because he will not want to cause trouble for himself, and then you will have no way of finding out what he thinks, how he feels, and what his arguments are. It goes without saying that by taking such measures you have cast doubt on yourself as a cadre and activist, because you have failed to stand loyal to criteria which you yourself determined. [Passage omitted]

Progress of Vienna Talks Positively Assessed

AU0609142789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 5 Sep 89 p 4

[Boyko Pangelov article: "Are Agreements Close?"]

[Text] Predictions varied at the beginning of the talks. The prevailing opinion was that the talks can successfully end with the adoption of an agreement by 1993-95, while the cautious prediction of the greater optimists pointed to the beginning of 1992, when the next CSCE meeting will take place in Helsinki.

Now there are many figures, such as General Wolfgang Altenburg, chairman of NATO Military Committee, who predict that the agreements will already be reached in 1990. What is the basis of this optimism?

As we know, the talks on the conventional weapons in Europe began on 9 March 1989 in Vienna and the first round lasted only 2 weeks. Nevertheless, there were positive reactions to the work that was done. What were the reasons for this? First of all, the round began and took place in a very businesslike and constructive atmosphere, without the "warming up," characteristic of other multilateral talks. Second, already on the first day of the talks the Warsaw Pact and NATO submitted their proposals. The comparison of the proposals showed a significant similarity in the positions.

The second round began on 5 May and continued until 13 July. It was characterized by the fact that the positions of the two sides came closer together (thanks to the Warsaw Pact's new proposals and the evolution of NATO's position, which was mainly the result of the favorable reaction of U.S. President Bush.)

What was achieved in the first two rounds and what problems are yet to be solved? It is well known that before the beginning of the talks the participants coordinated their mandate, which states that their goal is to strengthen stability and security in Europe by achieving a stable and safe balance of the conventional troops at a lower level. After the specific proposals were submitted and additions and corrections made during the second round, the outlines of the future agreement emerged. It will incorporate the general levels of the most destabilizing categories of conventional weapons (tanks, aircraft, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, and artillery); personnel; the limited quantity of these categories for every state and for the two alliances' troops that are deployed outside the national territories of the European continent; and the regions with the respective sublevels of weapons and personnel.

It is important that the sufficient proximity of the participants' positions in the area of information exchange and on the issue of the future verification has been acknowledged.

As known, there is an agreement on those categories of weapons, which represent the potential of the first strike and conduct of attack operations. The fact that this

agreement has already been incorporated in the text of the preliminary edition of the future agreement is especially gratifying.

What are the differences that remain?

First of all they relate to the issue of reducing the air force. NATO (after finally accepting the thesis about the necessity of reducing the aircraft and helicopters,) proposes to reduce all ground-based aircraft, including such aircraft that serve purely defensive functions, such as the fighters-interceptors of the anti-aircraft defense. On the other hand no reduction of the English and French aircraft, which can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads, is envisaged. Differences also exist on other issues: What belongs to the "combat tank" category (NATO is still striving to exclude the light tanks from the category that is to be reduced); must combat reconnaissance aircraft be reduced (NATO maintains that they should be excluded); what must the caliber be of the guns that will be reduced (NATO wants to exclude a great quantity of antitank guns, an area in which its superiority is obvious), and so forth. There are also other differences which must be overcome.

This should take place in the new round of the Vienna talks. No comparison must be made between those talks and the talks on Central Europe, which continued 15 years and eventually failed. The "numbers discussion," which was characteristic of previous talks, is not in evidence. All this shows that the progress of the new talks depends not so much on finding solutions to purely technical weapons, as on the presence of political goodwill and joint efforts.

At least for the moment, against the background of the favorable international situation, such goodwill exists. In only 6 months the Vienna talks gained momentum and if they continue in the same manner they could really end within a short period of time. The new round that begins will clarify the issue of whether it will be possible to achieve agreements already in 1990.

Illegal Deals With Gasoline Investigated

AU0509134189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 4 Sep 89 p 5

[Article by Borislav Yotov, Sofia city deputy prosecutor: "With the Smell of Gasoline"]

[Excerpts] The eastern section of the road to and from Sofia crosses the Vrazhdebna District. Nearby are two gasoline stations numbered 7,127 and 7,128. Nobody has ever complained about service. On the contrary, the attendants are excessively attentive toward the customers. Of course, later in the courtroom, it would become clear that the courteous service was an integral part of the way money was illegally acquired and a necessary precondition for the whole operation....

It all began with an unexpected inspection by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, during which an

unusual quantity of Bulgarian and foreign currency, expired "Shipka" vouchers, and canceled checks were found. Everything had been concealed in a specially prepared secret compartment. The investigation, which included the testimony of 540 witnesses, collected in 62 volumes, has ended. However, because of the departmental shortcomings, the aberrations of official and unofficial persons, and the damage inflicted to the state, the disclosures require our attention.

Some 17 employees of the "Petrol" State Economic Enterprise—"Petrol" combine department in Sofia, have been brought to trial. The main figure is Boris Georgiev, who for more than 15 years was an attendant at gasoline station No. 7,128. He had received approximately 15 administrative penalties in as many years, however, he continued to work at the same place. It is true that in 1982 he was fired for flagrant violations, however, he remained an attendant at the station. Some 10,074 leva were found during the search of his apartment. At the same time it was found that his family has 53,000 leva in their saving account. In addition, the family had made a down payment for a car for their underage son. We shall refrain from describing his expensive property—furniture, stereo equipment, a car, gold jewelry, and what not. Let us only recall that all this had been acquired with "wages" of 125 leva per month. [passage omitted]

The important factors in the whole scheme were to work at a gasoline station and collaborate with drivers. Drivers used to sell surplus vouchers to the gasoline station attendants for half price. Then the attendants used to change the date of the vouchers and resell them to other drivers. [passage omitted]

The innocent reader would ask as they usually do, where are the managers of these gasoline stations? The managers...also sit in the dock, because they have received a substantial, albeit illegal reward for keeping their eyes closed. [passage omitted]

In addition to the specific system of the criminal activity the trial evokes many questions related to the practice and system of applying and improving the legal acts which regulate the sale of petroleum products. It is necessary to update regulation No. 1, which is 10 years old. The obligations of the drivers and the gasoline stations vendors in anything related to dating the vouchers and preventing the possibility to prepare documents with false contents, something from which the vendors benefit, must categorically change. [passage omitted] It also is necessary to amend Article 15 of the aforementioned regulation in order to monitor, report, and assess whether the excessive vouchers, left with the drivers, have been returned. It is necessary that the managers of the gasoline stations begin to sign shift reports after a thorough check. It is necessary to organize daily reports as well as to demand general reports on the activity of gasoline stations open 24 hours a day.

Writers Discuss Nation's History of Democracy

AU0709101989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No. 36 4 Sep 89 pp 10,11

["Dialogue" between writers Veselin Andreev and Yako Molkhov: "Democracy"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Yako Molkhov: Let us begin with one question: How long has the subject of democracy as a political, social, and moral issue occupied your thoughts?

Veselin Andreev: Democracy really existed in the early days of the partisan movement. I will tell you about a case that I can use as a specific illustration in this respect. At the beginning of October 1943 a conference was held on Murgash mountain because, for several reasons, our unit had been stagnating. [passage omitted]

Numerous similar examples could be cited. During the period of Civil War and intervention, when Soviet Russia held just a small amount of territory around Moscow, Lenin held discussions within the party, precisely at that moment. Nevertheless, how many times following 9 September 1944, prior to the April 1956 Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum, and even after it, we were recommended to soften the sharp edges of our opinions, always with the same excuse: namely—for the sake of preventing a split within the party. As a matter of fact, this approach turned out to be incorrect on all occasions.

Yako Molkhov: It is true that such people used a very convenient formula: anti-party discussions, anti-party views, anti-party statements. In reality, however, the correct party method develops through discussions.... Nevertheless, 45 years have elapsed since 9 September 1944. Has your concept of democracy evolved?

Veselin Andreev: How did we imagine democracy after the victory? We imagined a real democracy for the entire people. [passage omitted]. Unfortunately, however, our dreams did not come true in this respect. I would like to mention the period between 1944 and approximately 1949, which I call the "bright 9 September years." It means that 9 September, as a symbol of enthusiasm and as an embodiment of the revolution lasted through 1949. This period was sufficient for the people to gather their courage. [passage omitted]

Along with revolution, a prosperous development of economic, political, and cultural-creative democracy began in our country which we called people's democracy at that time.

Yako Molkhov: It was Georgi Dimitrov who defined this concept.... [passage omitted]. Let us, however, come back to our time and examine the present-day situation.

Veselin Andreev: Before doing so, let me dwell for a while on the years following the victory. The personality cult period began soon after the first post-revolutionary years. It was characterized by a gradual predominance of dictatorship in all spheres of our life—in the political,

economic, and cultural sectors. Irreparable damage was inflicted on our democracy at that time. Now that we are reassessing our personal feelings about democracy, I compare these feelings with the past period of personality cult, but also with the ensuing years and I realize that we are still unable to go back to the kind of democracy that characterized the epoch of anti-fascist struggle and prevailed throughout the first years following 9 September 1944. It just seems that our souls have changed. A great deal of distrust and suspiciousness related to our closest comrades accumulated over the years of the personality cult.

It is true that in our country there were no repressive measures, shootings, and assassinations, such as in the Soviet Union, but whether you kill 10 people, or thousands—the psychological effect is almost the same.

I am still ashamed when I think of Traycho Kostov, remembering how they gathered us at rallies to shout: "Death to Traycho Kostov." I also raised my hand to approve his death sentence. One could not help doing so. All this caused tremendous moral decay within our party, from which we are still unable to recover. We still have not recovered.

The April Plenum in 1956 changed many things. It eliminated repressive measures, in the first place. However, I think that the democratization process was never fully implemented. The plenum was held in April, but in September RABOTNICHESKO DELO published an article against the "murky petty bourgeois wave." Brilliant revolutionary deeds were attacked and noble attitudes were trampled underfoot.... Throughout all these years the command-administrative methods were applied in all spheres of life. People were unable to free themselves of their fear and passive attitudes inherited from Stalinism.

At that time all kinds of "bosses" enjoyed unlimited power while the people were increasingly oppressed. Elementary and genuine, ancient Bulgarian democratic traditions were trampled upon. [passage omitted].

Yako Molkhov: We are using the term socialist democracy. We eliminated the bourgeoisie and established socialist democracy, which actually proved to be a fake democracy, because it consisted of formal decisions and a formal majority. In the final analysis, we often corrupted the concept of democracy with the best intentions, and if we describe the first 5 years following 9 September 1944 as the epoch of our enthusiasm, we must admit that the ensuing 40 years were filled with disappointments.

As far as democracy and the creative arts are concerned, you Veselin Andreev, can very well remember how people, who had no idea of culture, music, or the arts, used grossly to interfere in these sectors. Unfortunately, certain leaders of creative unions supported this interference and became the instruments of an unjust, incorrect, and misguided control over the development of our literature and arts. To a considerable extent, this also

applied to the world of sciences. Suddenly, those who were our leaders became great writers.

Veselin Andreev: I would add that the first to take the initiative of restructuring our literary life were those who....

Yako Molkhov: ...Who actually destroyed it.

Veselin Andreev: They were those who most heavily oppressed our creative literature. If I could express my own idea about democracy in our new life, I think that we should in the first place try to understand our mistakes and find out how we could practically improve things not by words, but by actual deeds. The leaders must provide such an opportunity and the rank and file workers should find the courage to carry out such a purifying process.

I must admit that we are still far from the full manifestation of democracy, the more so, since relapses still occur, such as punishments for those who express a bold opinion, the labeling of this or that public figure, restrictions, and obstacles. Glasnost exists in our country, but it is very subdued, and what is very important: People are still not actively, sincerely, and wholeheartedly joining the struggle for democracy. There is no reason for hoping that the democratization of our whole life will develop with increasing intensity, will become reality, and produce fruitful results. We can still feel that this is a temporary campaign and this fact fills us with great concern.

I would also add that slogans are one of our strong points. We are also very skilled in making beautiful laws which, unfortunately, are never applied.

What else could I wish? I wish that at least the most impudent and frightening obstacles to glasnost, and hence to democracy, could be eliminated, and that bold opinions could be encouraged instead of being suppressed, and that every critical word could produce a useful result. We should not be afraid of the alleged chaos. Our people are sufficiently mature to prevent it. [passage omitted]

I think that democracy fills the hearts of our people and is one of their most characteristic traits. The very first Bulgarian Constitution—the Turnovo Constitution—was democratic and brilliantly conceived. The temperance societies, youth cooperative groups, and hiking organizations of the past were democratic institutions. Our school boards, which are now re-emerging, and even the church boards, if you wish, were also inspired by a democratic principles. [passage omitted]

We have a great basis for self-improvement today, namely the restructuring process, that should become a second revolution after the 9 September revolution. Democracy is real when it permeates everyday life and determines the most ordinary mutual relations among fellow citizens. Democracy means true humanitarianism. Nevertheless, a democracy of people who are unanimous on all issues is not a true democracy.

Joint political committees attached to the Fatherland Front are being established today. However, they are the same as before as regards their organization and the people who participate in them. It was declared that they should not only be allies but also opponents of the government. I very much doubt that they will ever be opponents of the government. It is necessary to think about the establishment of new movements and clubs, which though based on Marxist-Leninist principles, should be entitled to express their own views. This is how it might become possible to hear another voice that contradicts the government, and this is a definite necessity.

Yako Molkhov: I am also disturbed by the following fact: It is true that attempts to express different views exist even in our country. However, we immediately negate, reject, and criticize such manifestations. Why is that so?

Veselin Andreev: I think that we just do not listen to such voices. [passage omitted] However, the truth cannot be achieved with silence. Dialogue does not exist in our country.

Let us say a few words about the role of the press in the process of democratization. I think that greater freedom should be granted to our press. It is quite irrelevant whether this is achieved through a law, or a special statute, but our press cannot exercise any power without freedom. The press should point out all successes and report positive experience, but certain issues exist which are never mentioned in our newspapers, they are simply passed over in silence. No controversial discussion exists in our press.

Yako Molkhov: I absolutely agree. The role of the newspapers and of the mass media is undoubtedly great. It is sufficient to look at the Soviet press, which is a champion of restructuring today and has conquered the hearts of millions of readers also in our country. The only way to achieve such a development in Bulgaria and to enhance the role of the mass media would be to grant them more freedom and greater opportunities. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov Greets SFRY's Drnovsek on Election

AU0709093989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Belgrade.

Esteemed Comrade Drnovsek,

On behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria I am pleased to cordially greet you on the election of the SFRY as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

This distinguished post is a recognition of socialist Yugoslavia's authority as one of the founders and most active members of the Nonaligned Movement, whose role in contemporary international life is constantly growing. We are convinced that Yugoslavia will continue

to be an important factor in strengthening the unity of the nonaligned countries, increasing the movement's contribution to the struggle for a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, guaranteeing international security, and developing equal and mutually beneficial cooperation among the states.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you success in your highly responsible activity in the name of peace, progress, and mankind's bright future.

Mladenov Returns From Meeting in Belgrade

AU0609171589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1500 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, returned from Belgrade today. He attended the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement in the Yugoslav capital.

Greetings Sent to 9th Nonaligned Conference

AU0709084189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 6 Sep 89 p 1

[Greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, to the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries]

[Text] To the participants in the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries, Belgrade.

Esteemed participants,

On behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria I send you most cordial wishes for fruitful work at your representative and authoritative forum.

We accepted your invitation to Bulgaria to participate as a guest at your conference's work with sincere gratitude. Our country's traditionally friendly relations with the non-aligned countries and active support for their noble efforts for further understanding and progress are a lasting and permanent characteristic of socialist Bulgaria's foreign policy activity.

For more than 25 years the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries has been consistently and steadily defending the nations' right to live in peace and freely select their road of development. We believe that your conference will make a decisive contribution to eliminating the danger of nuclear and ecological catastrophe, resolving disputed issues by political means, and asserting universal values, in the spirit of the positive developments and tendencies in international and interstate relations.

The new political thinking, as the synthesis and manifestation of the top achievements of human thought,

which incorporate the ideas and ideals of your movement's founders, is turning into an active factor in establishing a new international order.

The prospects of constructing a world without nuclear weapons and violence are integrally related to the necessity of conducting further specific actions for eliminating the weapons of mass destruction and achieving real progress in the area of disarmament. Stopping the arms race and directing the material and intellectual resources to resolving the pressing socioeconomic problems presuppose the consolidation of confidence, mutual understanding, and civilized contacts among states.

The peaceful regulation of regional conflicts, overcoming economic backwardness, protecting the environment, and resolving the problems related to the provision of food, demography, health protection, and justly and democratically resolving the foreign debts issue will further attract the attention of state and political figures and underline the necessity of coordinating the international efforts.

The active position of the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries on those cardinal issues of human civilization asserts its great peace-making potential and strengthens its positions as an important and effective factor of international life.

Esteemed participants,

As representatives of two-thirds of mankind you bear historical responsibility for its future. We sincerely hope that your conference's decisions will produce an impetus for specific actions for the benefit of peace, security, and cooperation throughout the world.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Honduras' Padilla Greeted on 60th Birthday

AU0609202089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 5 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent a message to Rigoberto Padilla, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras, which contains friendly greetings and sincere wishes for his 60th birthday.

Under your leadership the Communist Party of Honduras is successfully solving the task of turning it into an influential and authoritative political force and a uniting factor in the struggle of the country's revolutionary and democratic forces for defending the national interests and the vital rights of the working people and the broad people's masses in Honduras, the message reads.

We are convinced that you will further contribute to resolving the complex and responsible tasks that face the Honduran Communists and the revolutionary forces in the country and Latin America, and that are related to further developing the creative potential of the international communist movement in the interest of peace, progress, and social development throughout the world.

Defense Minister Reduces Some Military Service

AU0109181989 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 31 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Order issued by the minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

In accordance with Article 24 of the Law on Universal Military Service in the People's Republic of Bulgaria I issue the following order:

The term of temporary military service for naval specialists in the Navy and for the Border Troops will be reduced from 3 to 2 years.

Signed: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, and Colonel General Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Commentary on Bush Remarks About Cold War*LD0709012489 Prague International Service
in English 1900 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Apart from the main theme of his televised address to the American people on Tuesday [5 September] night, the announcement of plans for an all-out war on drugs, President Bush made yet another sympathetic statement. Specifically, he expressed the hope that the world will never again return to the cold war. It is this remark that inspired radio Prague news analyst Vaclav Kvasnicka to prepare the following commentary.

[Kvasnicka] On the face of it, it was a very welcome statement from the president of a superpower, gravely responsible for the future fate of this planet. A statement which offers much food for thought. What has been done to suggest that the cold war really and truly is a closed file? Surely a lot has been done already. A new healthier political environment has been created. The Soviet-American dialogue has headed some very encouraging progress in the crucial sphere of disarmament. Under the Soviet-American [word indistinct] treaty, short-range nuclear missiles are being scraped. Other, even further-reaching treaties are in the making. But this process is not without its disquieting symptoms, indicating that President Bush's vision of the world without cold wars was perhaps painted much too brightly. The United States itself has undertaken sweeping modernizations in virtually all the key weapon areas. Nor has it backed away from its space militarization projects, the biggest and most formidable obstacle to the eagerly awaited Soviet-American treaty on 50-percent cuts in the superpower long-range missiles' inventories. The United States insists on its allies' much greater involvement in the breeding the strike power of the NATO. This at the time when the Warsaw Treaty countries are taking unilateral steps towards the very opposite: to disarmament.

Cold war tendencies show also behind the efforts by certain Western circles in favor of a revision of the post-war setup in Europe, including changes in European frontiers. The West has yet to stop fooling itself that it can capitalize on the current problems in some socialist states, notably Poland and Hungary. Therefore, if President Bush believes that there is no way back to the cold war, he certainly deserves full support and constructive assistance from its administration.

Commentary Criticizes Hungarian 'Reformists'*AU0609190689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Sep 89 p 7*

[Vojtech Vesely article: "The Problems Are Mounting: Prior to the Hungarian Communists' Congress: From Our Budapest Correspondent"]

[Text] Contemporary development in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] confronts it with difficult tasks prior to its congress which will take place

in a month's time. Many members, mainly workers, are demonstrating their attitude toward the intra-party disagreements on the party's future character and on its place in society by leaving the ranks of the MSZMP. On Monday [4 September] NEPSZABADSAG published figures which had been issued by Jeno Kovacs, a Central Committee secretary: 10,000 members are leaving the party each month, while the number of applications for membership has not even reached 200.

The same source said that among the delegates which have been elected to the congress to date supporters of radical reforms are in the majority whereas the opponents of pluralism and the market economy, as well as the advocates of bourgeois liberalism, have gained a minimum number of mandates.

The prevalence of "reform forces" in the delegates' composition indicates that clashes will take place at the conference with leftist oriented party members, to whom it is being more and more openly suggested that they leave the party or adopt the platform of the reform circles. In a radio interview on Monday, Imre Poszgay, member of the party's Presidium, even denied the leftist oriented members of the MSZMP the concept of being left wing and defined them as "reactionaries." In his strongly emotive speech on Sunday [3 September], at the conclusion of an nationwide meeting of reform circles, he again compared them to the medieval opponents of the theory that the earth is round and he demanded that a "Copernicus revolution" be instigated against them in the party. The reformists, according to some voices, are counting on the fact that 100,000-200,000 of the present members will "leave" the party.

Officially, no details were released from Friday's [1 September] Central Committee session. However, it is known that the Central Committee withdrew and changed I. Poszgay's original agreement, pronounced at the tripartite session, with the departure of party organizations from workplaces, a matter which the Western press has evaluated as a defeat for the "reformists." Despite this, however, they are sticking to their own position, which is apparent from the open letter sent by the participants in the nationwide meeting to party members and conference delegates and in which the dissolution of party organizations in workplaces is demanded. It also contains the demand that the party press be independent of the party leadership and 10 members of the Workers' Guard issued an appeal for this unit to be armed and renamed as the National Guard.

Many people are talking about the need for new and trustworthy leading personalities in the party. At the "reformists'" meeting a kind of poll was carried out when the delegates held a vote of confidence in individual members to date of the party's Central Committee. However, the results were not published in full, which leads one to believe that they did not correspond to expectations.

'Activation' of MSZMP 'Left Wing' Welcomed

AU0609142689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Sep 89 p 6

[CTK, Vojtech Vesely Budapest dispatch: "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee on Congress Preparations: Activation of Left-Wing Forces; I. Poszgay About the Possibility of Reform Circles Leaving the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; R. Nyers: A New Socialist Party Is Taking Shape"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (from our correspondent and CTK)—[passage omitted] On Saturday and Sunday [2 and 3 September], the organs of both ideological currents in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]—the left-wing Ferenc Munnich Society (SFM) and the reform circles (RK)—held meetings in Budapest. The SFM General Assembly was attended by 420 delegates representing some 10,000 party members, the second RK national conference was attended by 360 delegates from 180 primary party organizations with an unspecified number of members.

Both forums discussed and drafted their own platforms for the approaching party congress.

The General Assembly of the until now rather reticent Ferenc Munnich Society, which is condemned by the opposition, can be billed as the start of an offensive by left-wing forces within the MSZMP but also outside it. The delegates welcomed with stormy applause a letter from Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, in which he stressed that the main task of Communists is not to move away from Marxism, but to return to it.

The assembly disproved the accusations that the SFM is an extremist ultra left-wing organization which rejects changes and presses for a return to Stalinism, by force if necessary. Jozsef Agod, deputy chairman of the executive committee, unambiguously condemned all and any threats to use force and declared that the "knights of confrontation" are getting ready in other circles of society. The SFM advocates radical changes and a modern, democratic, and people's Hungary. It does not reject a multiparty system but is opposed to anarchy, nationalism, and new forms of dictatorship. In the programmatic document which it approved it upholds the party's renewal and calls for the preservation of the party's workers character and of its unity.

On Sunday, after the end of the SFM General Assembly, a news conference was held on its results.

The society unequivocally avows its allegiance to the continuation of the construction of socialism in Hungary. This is the central idea of the political platform, entitled "The Crisis and The Way Out," which the assembly approved. The participants expressed support for the unity of the MSZMP's Marxist platform and confirmed the continuity of their organization's Marxist line in the future.

The society does not want to become a political party, which does not mean, however, that it will not become a party if compelled to do so by historical circumstances.

The society stresses that it is in Hungary's supreme interest to live in friendly relations with its neighbors. In the society's opinion, the two young Hungarians [arrested] in Wenceslas Square in Prague on 21 August this year misused Czechoslovakia's hospitality and the Hungarian media then turned them into martyrs.

The delegates elected Jozsef Agod as chairman of the society and Ferenc Berenyi as its secretary.

At their second national conference, the reform circles stressed that their aim at the congress will be to gain the majority. If they fail and do not effect a "Copernican revolution"—as Imre Poszgay, member of the party's Central Committee Presidium, put it on Saturday—they will leave the party. [passage omitted]

The delegates of reform circles adopted several documents, among them a standpoint on the draft new statutes and a letter to MSZMP members. In this letter the reform circles distance themselves from the "forces of retardation" which took control of the party after 4 November 1956 and proclaim the parting of ways with the model of "state socialism" once and for all. Democracy, market, and culture have been proclaimed as the three pillars of the renewed party's program.

MSZMP Chairman Rezso Nyers addressed a public meeting held after the conference. He announced that a new, socialist party is taking shape, which he described as the heir of the traditions of the socialist movement in Hungary, as well as of progressive efforts within the existing MSZMP. [passage omitted]

Party Daily Apologizes to NEPSZABADSAG

AU0509094789

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 31 August, in the "They Said, They Wrote" column on page 6, carries a 100-word unattributed report on a NEPSZABADSAG article of the preceding day on the Prague trial against two Hungarian citizens who participated in an unauthorized demonstration in the center of Prague on 21 August. The report states, among other things, that "the daily NEPSZABADSAG qualifies the verdict of the Prague court as correct." On 2 September, in the "They Said, They Wrote" column on page 6, RUDE PRAVO carries the following report, signed by "the editorial office": "On Thursday [31 August] we stated in this column that 'the daily NEPSZABADSAG qualifies as correct the verdict of the Prague court against two young Hungarians who participated in an unauthorized demonstration in Prague on 21 August.' On Friday [1 September] NEPSZABADSAG raised objections to this text: 'Czechoslovak Television and, on Thursday, most Czechoslovak dailies, including RUDE PRAVO, claimed that NEPSZABADSAG qualified the verdict against Kerenyi and Deutsch as correct (...). We regard

the method of individual Czechoslovak information media as startling. They quote from NEPSZABADSAG something which no one could read in our daily (...). We did not qualify the Prague verdict as correct. We attributed this adjective to two Hungarian observers of the trial, who were applying this term to the /proceedings/. [word between slantlines is published in boldface] As is apparent, our incorrect translation has distorted the standpoint of the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, for which we apologize to its editorial office and to RUDE PRAVO readers."

GAZETA WYBORCZA Criticism Assessed

AU0509075889 Prague PRACE in Czech
1 Sep 89 p 2

["(JAR)"]-signed article: "And So People Ponder...."]

[Text] Hardly a week goes by without the Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA devoting part of its space to considerations and meditations on the theme of all the things that Czechoslovakia should do so to make its social system more modern, more humane, and more democratic. There is no absence of advice on how we should make our economy more efficient, on where to aim its intensification, on our external relations and, indeed, on the whole of restructuring. Recently, the chairman of Solidarity even expressed his conviction in the West Berlin weekly, TIP, that perhaps one day Czechoslovakia will also embark on Poland's road....

What, perhaps, do his fellow countrymen think about this—those who have found employment in Czechoslovakia and a temporary second home and the tourists whose numbers can daily be calculated in the thousands? They see something in Czechoslovakia with their own eyes, something to which the Solidarity periodicals, because they do not like it, do not devote even a sentence. In our country they see a diametrically different picture of the standard of living than the one which all kinds of activists from among the ranks of the Czechoslovak opposition, who so often make guest appearances in Solidarity publications, served up to Polish readers. The Polish guests ask questions and ponder about the context: What have their fellow countrymen—and we have heard such a question—got out of the volubly proclaimed political and civil freedoms when many of them live below the level of minimum subsistence and when there is very little hope that their miserable conditions will improve in the foreseeable future? Is a Czech and Slovak or a Polish mother freer if she must spend more and more time in ever lengthening lines, even for the most basic foodstuffs such as sugar, flour, and salt?

One of the leading Solidarity spokesmen was heard to say that the road along which we have decided to embark with our restructuring, the road along which we are going today, is impassable and that in many regards Czechoslovakia will lag severely behind Poland. If we wanted to

be impertinent and ironic we could gloss over this pompousness with the words "thank God."

Without exception, we would have on our side those Polish citizens who come to our country and buy what they need. They would rather regard the statement by the self-styled expert as an unsuccessful attempt at a joke. All the more so since in GAZETA WYBORCZA of the day before yesterday they could read that the country stands before an "unprecedented catastrophe," that "the domestic market is completely disorganized," that "the currency is disrupted," that "the budget is constantly being derailed," and that "cold anger" prevails among the people.

No 'Superfluous' Citizens in Bulgaria

AU0609132389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with Gencho Boshnakov, deputy chief editor of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, by Miroslav Fladr: "Why Are the Muslims Leaving?"—date and place not given]

[Text] In the last few months, after the Bulgarian Government had introduced great changes to foreign travel procedures, a large number of people have left Bulgaria for Turkey. This is one of the largest movements of people in continental Europe in such a short space of time since the Second World War. What are the reasons for and circumstances of this event, which has considerably disturbed the Bulgarian public and the Bulgarian leadership? What is the Bulgarian view on this complicated matter? Our Sofia correspondent put this question to Gencho Boshnakov, deputy chief editor of the main Bulgarian newspaper, RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

[Fladr] In Bulgaria they talk about Bulgarian Muslims, but Turkey and some world agencies write about ethnic Turks—can you clarify this?

[Boshnakov] First of all, let me make it clear that today one should be talking, historically and correctly, about the descendants of Islamic Bulgarians. That is how we refer to this. Both in the Rodop region and in other parts of the country where large groups of people who are followers of Islam live there is a lot of incontrovertible evidence and there are documents which refute the theory of the Turkish colonization of Bulgaria and prove that the roots of these people are Bulgarian and that they have an ethnic and religious continuity from a time long before the arrival of conquerors. It is enough for me to quote Mithad Pasha—the one time administrator of Ruse Vilayet [district] and later the grand vizier of Turkey: "...Among the Bulgarians ... are more than one million Muslims. These Muslims did not come from Asia as is usually claimed. They are the descendants of Bulgarians who were converted to Islam during slavery and in later years. They are children of this country, of this race, of this generation. There are some among them who do not speak any language but Bulgarian."

[Fladr] How many of these people are there in Bulgaria?

[Boshnakov] What people? As far as the descendants of the Islamic Bulgarians are concerned —there are a great many of them but it is difficult to count them, especially after the recent movements. I have only read that, according to the census which was carried out in the 1960s, there were around more than 600,000 of them. A number of things have changed since that time: More children have been born and some citizens have been relocated.

[Fladr] What is the main reason for the Muslims leaving the country?

[Boshnakov] There is no one reason but the main one is pan-Turkeyism and the ambition to renew of the power of the Turkish Empire. According to the pan-Turks, there are more than 100 million Turks in the world outside Turkey stretching from Yugoslavia to China. Religious and national sentiments are being mixed and religious feelings are being toyed with.

[Fladr] Already 300,000 people have left. How many have returned?

[Boshnakov] About 3,000.

[Fladr] What is the situation along the border now?

[Boshnakov] Peaceful. Despite difficulties from the Turkish side associated with the lowering of the border barriers, the halting of international trains, and so on. The Bulgarian authorities are doing everything necessary and possible to normalize the situation.

[Fladr] Do you think that the moratorium in accepting the Muslims into Turkey is a long-term political decision?

[Boshnakov] No. In the years 1950-51, Turkish ruling circles instigated resettlement. Their approach after 1968 differed somewhat in form, however, not in its aim, when an agreement was concluded on uniting divided families, after 1978 when its validity expired, and in 1982 when it was declared at the highest level that the previous treaties on mass emigration had expired.

Our government's point of view is clear: An emigration problem does not exist for us, we have no "superfluous" citizens in order to allow them the luxury of emigrating, but we will enable everyone to leave just as we will enable all of them to return to their motherland. We are in favor of talks with Turkey without any predetermined conditions.

[Fladr] What damage has been done to the country's economy as a consequence of the mass exodus of people and the vacating of many work places?

[Boshnakov] It is difficult now, in the course of a year, to talk about damage—this has to be calculated now. But I would say that it would be more precise to talk about difficulties. Yes, we have grave difficulties—particularly

in some regions from where many Bulgarian citizens have departed and have vacated many work places. But workers from other regions and factories, as well as local volunteers have come to take their place.

I think that now in Bulgarian-Turkish relations it is very important to find a bridge to the future. It would be better to dwell upon what brings us closer together, and not on what divides us. I address these ideas to the Turkish Government as one of millions of Bulgarian citizens. After all, history has consigned us to be neighbors. Why not good neighbors? I say all of this as a person who harbors the best sentiments toward the Turkish people and their homeland. Despite everything which the Bulgarian people have gone through in the distant past.

[Fladr] Thank you for the interview.

FRG Press Accused of 'Encouraging' Refugees

*AU0109181189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Aug 89 p 7*

[Miroslav Kubin article: "They Are Polishing Up the Hallstein Doctrine: From Our Bonn Correspondent"]

[Text] Like travel agencies attracting tourists to resorts in the Canary Islands and to the shores of all the warm seas imaginable, the local press points to the opportunity of using the "Hungarian season" to get across Austria into the FRG. Such a journey can end, particularly for tourists from the GDR, in a permanent holiday in wonderland.

The advertisement is aimed at illegal tourists whom, of course, the federal authorities do not regard as illegal because for them a German is a German even though he is of a different nationality. According to the so-called Hallstein Doctrine, the FRG also regards GDR nationals as its citizens and, according to the same gray theory, the FRG represents the interests of all Germans, regardless of where they live.

Therefore, the FRG Embassy in Budapest is also issuing West German passports to GDR citizens. In advertisements in the federal press, tourists from the GDR are promised the immediate prospect of visaless contact in Hungary and the FRG which, allegedly, will enable Germans from the GDR to acquire a West German passport in Budapest and to travel legally. However, the Federal Government has not confirmed this prospect. Despite this, however, according to a statement made by government spokesman Klein, a substantial wave of "refugees" across Hungary is being envisaged in the near future. The minister of the interior, Schauble, has stated that the Federal Republic is prepared for all imaginable eventualities in receiving the "refugees" and that organizational preparations have already been carried out in cooperation with the lander, especially with Bavaria. The Bavarian ministry for social affairs has confirmed that at the request of the Bonn ministry it is looking for new sites to set up additional "refugee" camps.

A new type of advertisement for the Federal Republic's "hospitality" is Tuesday's [29 August] verdict against the juveniles who hijacked an aircraft belonging to the Hungarian airline Malev from Prague to Frankfurt am Main. They are to spend their 2-year sentence in a juvenile detention center where they will be able to study German and learn automobile mechanics. The sentence is, so to speak, an advertisement encouraging adolescents to illegally leave the country by air. The court recognized "the desire for adventure" as a motive (and, at the same time, as an excuse) for the act of piracy. The question of why such publicity is given to an illegal departure from a socialist country crops up. It arises from commentaries in the West German press that this is, first and foremost, to discredit socialism. This is evident from the numerous commentaries on events in Poland and on the issues of restructuring in other socialist countries. However, the immense difficulties which the "refugees" face in trying to integrate themselves into normal life in the FRG are only written about sporadically. Understandably, they do not advertise these.

Leaders Send Congratulations to Vietnam

AU0509175289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Vietnam"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, CSSR President Gustav Husak and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, have sent Nguyen Van Lihn, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of their country's National Day—the 44th anniversary of its declaration of independence:

Dear Comrades,

We send you our comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on the occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam—the 44th anniversary of the country's declaration of independence.

We admire the results which the Vietnamese people have achieved recently while fulfilling the policy of the Vietnamese Communist Party, a policy aimed at the construction and defense of your socialist motherland. We follow with great interest the resolute efforts of the Vietnamese working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist party, to consistently implement the aims of the renewal of the country's social and economic life. The intensification and strengthening of cooperation between socialist countries provide a firm guarantee of new successes in resolving the demanding tasks of the present stage of socialist construction in Vietnam.

We greatly appreciate the active peaceful foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a policy carried out in close collaboration with the other fraternal countries in the region, and a policy which has recently recorded successes in resolving complicated issues such as eliminating flash points of tension and regulating relations in South East Asia. We unconditionally support efforts to assert peaceful coexistence among the states of this region and its transition into a region of peace, friendship, and cooperation.

We express with satisfaction the intensification of the traditional friendship and the development of comprehensive cooperation between our parties, peoples, and countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and in harmony with the conclusions of the recent summit visit made by a Czechoslovak party delegation to your country.

We wish you, dear Comrades, and through you, all the Vietnamese people, further significant success in your work for the benefit of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and in your common endeavor for peace, social progress, and peaceful cooperation among the countries of the whole world.

USSR Pays Hard Currency for Wheat

AU0709094589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Engineer Jozef Mudroch, head of the crop farming department at the Slovak Ministry of Agriculture and Food, by Marcela Vanorna: "How To Make Optimal Use of the Grain Harvest?," place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vanorna] How important are protein components for feed mixtures?

[Mudroch] They are irreplaceable. [passage omitted] The use of high-quality feed makes it possible to raise fewer farm animals because the weight increments are higher. This also reduces the fattening period and, by the same token, the cost of manpower, feed, and investments. Protein components increase the nutritional value of feed mixtures, which also means considerable savings of grain because less of it is spent on each additional kilogram of meat.

[Vanorna] Wherein do you see a solution [to the shortage of protein components]?

[Mudroch] To be as brief as possible, I must first give a reply to a different question. Why do you think did we in Slovakia manage to bring in such an excellent harvest, even this year when the weather was not all that favorable? One of the reasons was that the planning bodies allowed us to sell abroad some of the grain which we produced over and above the plan last year. We exported 12,000 tonnes of flour to France and 30,000 tonnes of wheat to the Soviet Union for hard currency. With the funds earned in this way we purchased pesticides. This

allowed us to spray about 55 percent of the area under grain, instead of 27 percent, although we could not do so four or more times as is customary in advanced Western countries.

In this way we managed to obtain additional above-plan quantities of grain, but also of peas, poppy seeds, and aromatic and medicinal plants. We propose that some of this surplus production again be sold abroad. For the foreign exchange we earn we would again like to purchase pesticides, but also protein components for feed mixtures and biofactors.

[Vanorna] Foreign customers show interest only in first-class grain or grain products. Will there not be any complaints next year, as there were this year, about the deteriorating quality of bread and bakery products? Is this not a solution at the expense of the consumer?

[Mudroch] Definitely not. We propose that only about one-third of the quantity produced over and above the plan be exported. Domestic need for grain for human consumption will be amply met by the planned production of grain.

[Vanorna] Thank you for the interview.

Interior Minister Returns From USSR Visit

LD3108214789 Prague CTK in English
1940 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Frantisek Kinel returned here today from a working visit to the Soviet Union.

During the visit, which took place at the invitation of chairman of the Committee of State Security of the Soviet Union Vladimir Kryuchkov, the two sides signed an agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and the Committee and discussed questions of further development of relations between the two countries' security bodies.

Frantisek Kinel also met his Soviet counterpart Vadim Bakatin.

Knotek's Berlin, Leipzig Visits Reviewed

AU0609113389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Sep 89 p 1

["(VPL)"]-signed report: "Stimuli For Economic Cooperation; Ivan Knotek's Working Visit to the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin/Leipzig (From our own correspondent)—Ivan Knotek, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, made a 1-day working visit to the German Democratic Republic on Monday [4 September]. The visit took place at the invitation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee.

During his visit to Berlin, Ivan Knotek met with Guenther Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of

the SED Central Committee. During their talks, they briefed each other on the current situation in both countries, on the fulfillment of the aims of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 11th SED Congress, as well as on the preparations for both parties' upcoming congresses. They expressed their support for the further strengthening of ties between the CPCZ and the SED.

They further considered developments to date and some issues concerning economic and commercial cooperation between the CSSR and the GDR, and emphasized the interest of both parties and states in further expanding this in all spheres. They expressed their support for the strengthening of those forms of mutual economic contacts which would enable the scientific and technical potential of both countries to be better utilized and, in this connection, they talked about the necessity of expanding production cooperation and specialization, first and foremost at the enterprise level in both countries. Both representatives also considered possibilities of further improving bilateral ties and cooperation within the framework of CEMA.

Later, Comrade Knotek departed for Leipzig where he viewed some of the exhibits at the traditional autumn fair. At the second pavilion he viewed, among other things, the display by Strojimport, which represents Czechoslovak enterprises in foreign trade; he showed a keen interest in the highly modern and productive printing equipment manufactured by the domestic combine, Polygraph; and he also paid a visit to the Soviet pavilion.

At the end of his visit to Leipzig, during an interview with Czechoslovak journalists, he praised the successful development of economic and commercial cooperation between the CSSR and the GDR, 43 percent of which is based upon intergovernmental and interenterprise agreements on cooperation and specialization. He said that during his talks with G. Mittag the necessity of fulfilling the tripartite agreement between the CSSR, the GDR, and the Polish People's Republic on environmental protection was stressed.

In the evening I. Knotek returned home.

CPCZ Congratulates USA Communist Party

AU0509141289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Sep 89 p 2

["(Z)"]-signed report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, and Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee has sent a congratulatory telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA [CPUSA] on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the party's foundation.

The telegram praises the endeavors of the American Communists in the U.S. people's toil for progress and for the gradual unification of democratic forces in the

struggle for peace, in the formulation of an atmosphere to create trust and cooperation, in support of the continuation of a peaceful dialogue between the USSR and the United States, a dialogue necessary for the whole world. At the same time, support was expressed in the telegram for the CPUSA's struggle for workers' rights, for equality and social justice, and for its struggle against racial oppression.

The CPCZ Central Committee expressed its satisfaction over the successful development of relations between our parties, relations which were historically founded on the firm ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on trust and mutual understanding. At the same time, it appraised international approaches toward the international communist and workers movement.

International Experts Review Dukovany Safety

AU0709082489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Exchange of Experience at Dukovany"]

[Excerpts] Prague—An OSART mission of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA] began its work at the Dukovany nuclear power plant, more specifically, at its third unit, on Monday [4 September]. It will conclude its work on 22 September.

OSART stands for Operational Safety Review Team. In other words, it is a mission by an operational group of specialists dealing mainly with the operation and safety of the nuclear facility it visits. [passage omitted]

The OSART mission is led by prominent nuclear power engineering expert Ferdinand Franzen from the FRG. Members of the team are IAEA specialists as well as specialists from nuclear facilities from Belgium, Brazil, Finland, Japan, Yugoslavia, Canada, Cuba, the GDR, the FRG, Poland, Sweden, and the United States.

The OSART mission does not evaluate the plant's design and, above all, the mission's aim is not to check up on the plant's condition, but to hold analytical consultations, which is a bilaterally beneficial opportunity to exchange valuable experience and information. Within 2 months after the end of its work at Dukovany, the OSART mission will send an official report on its findings to the CSSR.

Lenart Receives Cuba's Jorge Risquet

LD3108093689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2100 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart today received in Prague Politburo member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba Jorge Risquet. They exchanged views on the present international situation and on topical questions of mutual relations between the two sides.

Jakes Presents Award to Madagascar Official

LD0509134389 Prague CTK in English
1238 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 5 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes presented today Gisele Rabesahala, general secretary of the Congress Party of Independence of Madagascar (AFKM), with a high Czechoslovak distinction—the order of friendship—on the occasion of her birthday.

The distinction has been awarded by the president of Czechoslovakia, following a proposal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Milos Jakes appreciated on this occasion the contribution of Gisele Rabesahala to the national liberation and Communist movement in Madagascar and to the development of independent culture of the Malagasy nation in her function of minister of culture. He appreciated her internationalist attitude to the strengthening of the unity of African and world workers and communist movement, and her friendly relation to the Czechoslovak people.

Gisele Rabesahala was received also by Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart. They spoke about the internal political situation in Czechoslovakia and in Madagascar and about the activities of the two parties.

Gisele Rabesahala said that the Malagasy people carefully follow the process taking place in the socialist countries and highly appreciate the procedure of the leadership of the Communist Party and the Government of Czechoslovakia in the realization of the policy of restructuring and democratization of social life.

Jozef Lenart spoke about the Czechoslovak economic restructuring and party activities before the 18th congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Johanes Meets DPRK, Algerian Envoys

AU0109124389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Jaromir Johanes received DPRK ambassador to the CSSR, Kim Kwang-sop, in Prague on Wednesday [30 August]. They positively assessed the present state of relations between the CSSR and the DPRK and discussed some topical aspects concerning the further intensification of cooperation. The same day Jaromir Johanes received Algerian ambassador to the CSSR Abdelhamid Latreche in connection with the termination of his diplomatic mission in the CSSR. They discussed topical aspects of Czechoslovak-Algerian relations and the prospects of their further development.

Stejskal Signs Agreement, Returns from Nigeria

AU0609185589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] On Saturday [2 September] Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, returned from a working visit to Nigeria. During the visit an agreement was signed on the prevention of double taxation between the CSSR and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Iraqi Health Minister Received

AU3108154289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Aug 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Czech Socialist Republic Minister for Health and Social Affairs Jaroslav Prokopec, received Iraqi Minister of Health 'Abd-al-Salam Muhammad Sa'id, and his entourage in Prague on Tuesday [29 August]. They considered the fulfillment of the intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in health care, which was concluded last year in Baghdad, and they concretized some of its points for the next 2 years.

Leaders Greet Libyan Counterparts on National Day

AU0509101089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a telegram of congratulations to Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, on the occasion of the national day of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

On the same occasion CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec sent a telegram of congratulations to 'Umar Mahmud al-Muntasir, secretary of the General People's Committee.

Data on CSSR-Libyan Cooperation Reported

AU0409151389

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 September on page 2 carries a 200-word "jl"-signed report on a 31 August news conference in Bratislava given by Muhammad Musbah Khalifah, chief secretary of the Libyan "people's bureau" in Prague on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 September on page 7 carries a 150-word "mik"-signed report on a news conference given by the same Libyan official in Prague on 1 September. The Bratislava PRAVDA report notes that Khalifa "appreciated the significance of Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation in the process of revolutionary changes in the country and mentioned that almost 3,000

Czechoslovak experts from various spheres of human activity work in Libya at present." RUDE PRAVO quotes the Libyan official as having said that "Czechoslovak exports to Libya amounted to \$200 million last year; they included production capacities, technology, and various types of merchandise." Khalifa is also said to have appreciated Czechoslovak experts' contribution to "the building of industrial facilities and to the development of housing construction and the road network in the country."

SSR Joint Agricultural Ventures With Ukraine

AU3108135589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
30 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Intensification of Mutual Contacts"]

[Text] Bratislava—In Bratislava yesterday, Yuriy Kolo-miyets, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UkSSR] Council of Ministers and chairman of the UkSSR State Agroindustrial Committee, and Julius Varga, minister of agriculture and food of the Slovak Socialist Republic, conducted talks on the development of cooperation between the Slovak Socialist Republic and the UkSSR in the sphere of agriculture.

Julius Varga told the CTK correspondent in this connection:

"Besides exchanging information on the present state and development of agriculture in the UkSSR and in the Slovak Socialist Republic, we dealt with experiences gained in the course of implementing the new economic mechanism in this branch. We evaluated the results to date of cooperation between Slovak and Ukrainian agricultural and food industry enterprises which maintain direct links. On the basis of an agreement signed last year, 90 Slovak enterprises have direct links with partners in the UkSSR. We noted that cooperation is good and that its intensity and forms even exceed our expectations. We will continue to promote it from both sides, seeking, above all, an improvement in its quality.

"Of foremost importance for the intensification of agriculture in both republics is the problem of albumins. We have agreed to start tackling this problem by means of a joint soybean growing project. Soybeans are currently grown on 100,000 hectares in the UkSSR. Jointly, we would like to expand this area to 500,000 hectares. In three oblasts of the UkSSR, 20 to 30 agricultural enterprises will directly cooperate with an analogous number of enterprises in the Slovak Socialist Republic. As early as next year, this joint undertaking should comprise an area of 30,000 hectares. We have also discussed the principles of this cooperation. The harvest will be distributed according to each participant's input.

"We have also discussed ways of making better use of pastures and meadows. We would start in East Slovakia and in the Zakarpatskaya Oblast of the UkSSR but, at a later stage, would extend this cooperation to the two

republics at large. We will also expand the use of joint systems for growing sunflowers and other oil-bearing crops where great untapped possibilities exist on both sides. At our next meetings, we will deal with the question of direct cooperation in the food industry and in cattle breeding.

"This specific course of action will be of benefit to both republics."

Adamec Discusses Agriculture, Food Industry

*LD0409084289 Prague Television Service in Czech
1730 GMT 3 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] The Land, the Provider national agricultural show in Ceske Budejovice was visited today by, several tens of thousands of people from all over the country, including Federal Premier Comrade Ladislav Adamec, who was accompanied by Comrade Frantisek Pitra and by other officials. The guests thus familiarized themselves with some specific results attained recently in agricultural production and in the food industry. [passage omitted]

Winding up his visit in Ceske Budejovice, Comrade Ladislav Adamec had this to say:

[Begin Adamec recording] I am very glad that the exhibition also covers environmental problems. I think that farmers too have realized that they are major polluters of the environment, and that they too have to do something to protect the environment. Of course, these ideas and suggestions which I have seen here must be put into practice as soon as possible. I had a talk with one manager who said: We have thought up this excellent device for a village, of, say, 5,000 people which will keep their water clean, but we don't know how much it is going to cost nor who would be able to produce it for us. I think that if we went about things like this, it would be a bad show. We must decide very promptly whether it matches our needs, who is going to produce it, how much it is going to cost, and perhaps we even have to nudge one or two of the national committees into getting on with it. Perhaps we will weigh things up and decide whether this kind of device should be subsidized in some way or other.

Our engineering industry currently undergoing certain structural changes, and a number of factories are changing their production programs. If the engineers and farmers are interested in having these new products made, I don't think there is anything preventing us from getting it together very promptly and putting into effect environmentally necessary ideas.

Another problem which I would like to draw attention to is our food industry. Of course, I am glad that the choice of food products has become much greater, and in the future too we will do everything to ensure that the choice of food products increases. However, I think we have to think hard about one particular aspect, and that is that not only our food industry but also doctors should be

dealing to a greater extent with the problem of healthier eating. As you know, in Czechoslovakia we are still consuming a lot of meat, pastries and puddings, and sugar, and I think we should be able to adapt this range to include more things like pulses and a whole range of other things. I think too that our public information bodies should begin to work better, because everyone should look after their own health. You can't expect doctors alone to look after your health, because by then it's too late. So I acknowledge the dedicated work of the food industry, because if I compare it with the situation 2 years ago when I was here, the choice is richer, the people will certainly be pleased, and a good job has been done in the sense that you can buy things here directly, and that is something the people like, and I think they will be very pleased about it.

Let me make a last point, and that is that this year's harvest looks good on the whole; I don't think the rain we've been having lately is going to affect the harvest too much. I don't want to make any final pronouncements today about how big the harvest is and what we are going to do with it because we have agreed on the principle that we will make an assessment of the harvest by 15 September, we will look at the problem of the fodder plans for the future, because in our country too we have to do everything to ensure that meat production is ensured next year, that the market for staple foods remains stable, because I think that without stability it will be difficult for us to ensure the people's satisfaction. [end recording]

Adamec Receives West Slovak Farmers 30 Aug

*AU0109164389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Aug 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Space for Cooperatives' and State Farms' Entrepreneurial Ventures; L. Adamec Received West Slovak Farmers"]

[Excerpts] Prague— On Wednesday [30 August], CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, had a working meeting with a delegation of farmers from the West Slovak region, which was headed by Ondrej Kvaka, leading secretary of the West Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committee.

At the outset, L. Adamec thanked all those who deserve credit for this year's record harvest of grain in the region—over 2 million tonnes, with hectare yields averaging 5.87 tonnes. "Bringing in such a big harvest is a major contribution to the national economy," he went on to say. "But today, unlike in the past, we evaluate the results of primary agricultural production comprehensively. We are interested in how we manage to store the grain with minimal losses, in how able we are to convert the grain into high-quality foodstuffs, and in how rationally we will use this wealth in feeding the people. Agricultural enterprises, too, can do a great deal in this

respect. We want them to store, process, and directly sell agricultural produce on a reasonable scale themselves."

In the subsequent discussion, L. Adamec exchanged views with his guests on the present situation in agriculture, on the restructuring of the economic mechanism, and on some other topical questions. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the working meeting, L. Adamec stressed the significance of a stable agriculture for our economy and for supplies to the domestic market. He also pointed out the untapped possibilities existing in the management of individual enterprises. The Government will not be afraid of giving agricultural cooperatives and state farms plenty of space for entrepreneurial ventures. As a matter of fact, the first results of the new economic mechanism have confirmed the correctness of the party and state bodies' intentions concerning restructuring in this sphere. After the first year's experiences, we will naturally return to this mechanism to finetune it.

Knotek Chairs Meeting of Party Secretaries

*LD3008173689 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1630 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Chaired by Ivan Knotek, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, a meeting of secretaries of regional and Prague and Bratislava city party committees was held in Prague today. Its participants discussed topical questions of party work in the conditions of restructuring in the preparation and course of annual member meetings of primary party organizations, and inplenary meetings of party conferences. They discussed also the results achieved in the individual regions, as well as in our entire homeland in implementing the program guideline of the 17th congress of the CPCZ and fulfillment of the conclusions of the 7th and the 9th sessions of the CPCZ.

In assessing the economic results, secretaries of the regional and city party in Prague and Bratislava pointed to the need to improve the quality of enterprise management and to enforce unique responsibility of state enterprises for safeguarding statewide needs.

Concluding the meeting Comrade Ivan Knotek stressed that in the remaining months it is necessary to focus on the comprehensive fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan and to seriously prepare the plan for the coming year.

Minister on Results of, Changes in Energy Policy

*AU0709112289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Sep 89 p 1*

[Pavel Paral report: "Cost-Effectiveness Is the Main Criterion"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—National celebrations of the Day of Miners and Power Industry Workers reached their climax with a festive session of

the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Miners and Power Industry Workers in Prague on Saturday [2 September]. [passage omitted] The session was attended by a party and government delegation headed by Ladislav Adamec, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier.

The results of the last mining year and the tasks confronting the work force of the fuel-energy and raw material base in the immediate future were assessed by Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuels and power. [passage omitted]

In the last mining year, all branches of the fuel and energy sector fully met the needs of the domestic market and exporting organizations. In the first half of 1989 alone, more than 13 million tonnes of bituminous coal and 46.5 million tonnes of brown coal were mined and 39 billion kilowatt hours of electricity were produced, 12.5 billion of them in nuclear power stations. Except for production in nuclear power stations and the production of bituminous coal, these figures are lower than planned. [passage omitted]

Although this development is desirable from the viewpoint of society, it has a negative impact on the economic situation of enterprises in the sector. Last year, despite the clement winter, they managed to meet the economic indicators and this year, too, they should be able to meet them. However, the two subsequent warm winters and the drop in demand connected with this must not be a reason to underestimate preparations for the upcoming winter. The situation is complicated by the 2-year delay of the first unit of the Mochovce nuclear power station, which was supposed to supply its first electricity to the power grid at the end of this year. Difficulties are making themselves felt also on other investment projects. Special attention must be paid to our participation in integration projects in the USSR. Following a review, the Federal Government has set the task of reducing the budgeted costs of these projects almost 20 percent, compared with projections from the year 1986.

Minister A. Krumnikl went on to stress that the planned structural changes in industry are being enforced too slowly. The growth in fuel-power resources planned for the entire 5-year plan had been virtually exhausted in its first 2 years. The slow reduction of energy intensiveness is accounted for also by the nonfulfillment of the state target program of energy conservation. It is assumed that this year it will be fulfilled 84 percent and next year only by 71 percent. [passage omitted]

It needs to be appreciated that the sector of fuels and power has succeeded in improving social and health care for its work force. One of the positive results of this improvement is, for instance, a 45 percent drop in the incidence of silicosis in the last 5 years.

A highly topical sociopolitical issue, which is the subject of many discussions at workplaces, is the impact of

structural changes. Major restructuralization measures are already been carried out in the uranium industry. Uranium exports have been reduced and, step by step, the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry concern will cut back its output. Some of the drop in employment will be resolved by the natural departure of retired employees and by the regulation of new recruitment. For the other employees to be released, new jobs are being created. [passage omitted]

After the speech, awards were presented to the best collectives. [passage omitted] The national celebrations of the Day of Miners and Power Industry Workers were addressed also by Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

Preliminary Figures on Skoda Fire Damage

AU3108155989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Aug 89 p 2

[Excerpt] Plzen (CTK)—According to the preliminary estimate, the material damage caused by the fire in the Electrotechnical Plant of the Skoda enterprise in Plzen [on 20 August], which we reported last week, amounts to more than Kcs16 million. A special commission of the enterprise's experts which is investigating the matter has arrived at that figure. In an interview with CTK, Engineer Pavel Martinek, head of the Electrotechnical Plant's technical section, said that the total consequences of the destruction will be much higher. Thus far, among other things, there are no figures on the follow-up damage caused by the interruption and suspension of work on unfinished production, the value of which was more than Kcs97 million at the moment of the fire. Even though production is already slowly getting under way, it will take at least a week before the affected operation will be able to use the store and smoothly fulfill the individual orders. It can be expected that the material damage will increase further, as the commission was only able to make a visual estimate of the damage. Only the results of measuring and rechecking all the electrotechnical parts and components which were in production and in the store will bring clarity. [passage omitted]

Enterprises Paid 7 Times Official Exchange Rate

AU0109192089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Zdenek Hoffmann, Pavel Paral article: "First Foreign Exchange Auction"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—A total of 34 Czechoslovak enterprises and other organizations purchased Kcs5,650,000 in foreign exchange for seven times the value quoted on the list of exchange rates. This was the outcome of the first auction within the framework of experimentation with a limited foreign exchange market, held on Wednesday [30 August] on the premises of the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank in Prague.

The auction was opened by Engineer Frantisek Svejnoha, deputy chairman of the auction committee, at

1,000. He announced that the participating organizations' demand for foreign exchange funds significantly exceeds the supply by about 27 times. While 10 organizations offered Kcs5,650,000 in foreign exchange for sale, 180 organizations placed orders for Kcs154,060,000 in foreign exchange.

One of the basic rules of the foreign exchange auctions is the anonymity of both the selling and buying organizations, both of which are represented in the auction committee by their banks. [passage omitted]

The banks collect both offers to sell foreign exchange funds and enterprises' requirements. At the session of the auction committee, they then assess the correlation between supply and demand and the committee chairman fixes the starting price of the so-called single lot, which is the smallest traded volume—in our case this was Kcs10,000 in foreign exchange. Once the starting price is fixed, many would-be buyers retire from the bidding. If supply and demand cannot be matched in the first round, the price of each lot is raised and the bidding goes into the second or further rounds, until supply and demand are in complete balance. Having weighed sellers' and buyers' demands, the auction committee set the starting price at Kcs50,000 per lot. However, demand still exceeded supply and it was only in the sixth round—at a price of Kcs70,000 per lot—that supply and demand were brought into balance. This means that, while the official exchange rate is approximately Kcs15 per dollar, the buyers paid Kcs105 for each dollar. [passage omitted]

As we were told by Engineer Rostislav Petras, general director of the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, the auction was not a one-off event, but the auctions will continue to be held every last Wednesday of a month.

This form of the operation of a limited foreign exchange market has the character of an experiment and changes in the rules are possible. For the time being, one does not reckon with the active participation of Czechoslovak banks and state-administered central foreign exchange resources in the auctions. In the future, however, such interventions could prove to be a very effective way of using the auctions to channel foreign exchange funds into progressive sectors and branches.

The role of the limited foreign exchange market is strongly limited by the possibilities of our enterprises to offer foreign exchange for sale. The fact that demand exceeded supply so many times logically led to the overvaluation of foreign exchange funds. Of course, it is positive that, despite the high price which they paid, the buying organizations are able to use the purchased foreign exchange so that they can still make a profit. However, one cannot disregard the fact that the existing economic environment still allows enterprises to make koruna profits without innovation and without the creation of a higher value, in short, in socially undesirable ways, which could—through the medium of the auctions—create certain inflationary pressures. That is why

it is highly appropriate that the results of the limited foreign exchange market will be consistently monitored and analyzed. [passage omitted]

Medicine Shortage, Extraordinary Imports Planned

AU3108132989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
30 Aug 89 p 2

["pj"-signed report: "Will There Be Enough Medicine?"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday, representatives of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] briefed journalists on the situation of medical supplies. Despite the very high recent growth rate of pharmaceutical production, the situation in supplies of medicines has deteriorated, compared with last year. This is chiefly the result of the nondelivery of some medicines being imported from socialist countries, particularly from the GDR where a pharmaceutical plant burned down in Dresden. However, some problems have also been caused by domestic manufacturers. Of the total number of 1,800 types of medicine in use, 55 to 58 commonly used types are in short supply. The worst situation is in the East Slovak region. Jaroslav Miskeje, director of the pharmaceuticals section of the SSR Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, assured those present, however, that the situation will gradually improve because the government has appropriated extraordinary foreign currency funds for import of medicines and raw materials for their production. The SSR will get from this allocation Kes95 million in foreign exchange. These funds will be used, above all, to secure vitally important medicines for people suffering from heart disease and for diabetics, but also other preparations of crucial importance. Patients will feel a radical improvement only toward the year's end because the delivery deadlines for some imported medicines and raw materials are 3 to 4 months. Once this temporarily critical situation is overcome, the needs of our population for the almost 2,000 medicines most commonly used in our country should, in principle, be met.

149 AIDS Carriers Identified

AU0109121789

[Editorial report] Bratislava ROLNICKÉ NOVINY in Slovak on 31 August on page 2 carries a 700-word interview with Professor Juraj Cervenka, chairman of the Consultative Committee for AIDS operating under the Slovak Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, by Igor Zemanovic, entitled "Danger in Four Letters." The date and place of the interview are not given. In the interview, Cervenka provides, inter alia, latest figures on AIDS in Czechoslovakia. He notes that to date 149 carriers of the virus have been identified in the CSSR, of whom 46 were foreigners who have already left the republic. The actual number of infected persons is estimated at "several times" the known figures. Clinical symptoms have developed in 19 carriers of the virus, 5 of whom have died. Cervenka notes that the figures for Slovakia—which has

16 carriers of the virus and 1 patient showing "only some symptoms, but not the full-blown clinically developed disease"—are more favorable than those for the Czech Socialist Republic. According to Cervenka, 49 of the carriers of the virus in Czechoslovakia are homosexual men. Cervenka also mentions that the blood of 1,468,000 people in Czechoslovakia, including that of all blood donors, has been screened for AIDS antibodies thus far.

High Sickness, Death Rate of Livestock Reported

AU0509081789

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 September on page 4 carries a 1,200-word article by Karel Hoffmann entitled "On the Causes of Diseases Among Livestock." The article discusses the "unsatisfactory" state of health and high death rate among farm animals resulting from the poor quality of feed in use as well as from the "unsuitable external environment" in which the animals are kept.

Hoffmann says, among other things: "The present situation is not satisfactory. In the seventh 5-year plan [1981-85], every year an average of 160,000 head of cattle and 330,000 pigs died of diseases and 5,500 tonnes of dead poultry were processed into meat and bone meal. Additional losses were caused by emergency slaughters. Indirect consequences of disease reflected in declining yields, cannot be expressed in exact numbers but, according to experts' estimates, they are twice as high as the direct losses. Even in the initial years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the situation has not markedly improved." To illustrate the continuing negative trend, Hoffmann mentions that in the first half of this year emergency slaughters accounted for 25 percent of all slaughters of cattle in Central Bohemia.

Hoffmann cites the results of a study by the State Veterinary Administration, which revealed that the "well-known infectious diseases" stopped being the main cause of death and emergency slaughters among farm animals, and have been replaced by injuries and diseases of the motor system, which account for one-third of all emergency slaughters, as well as by diseases of the respiratory, digestive, and reproduction systems.

Death and emergency slaughters are not the only problem resulting from the animals' poor state of health, Hoffmann continues: "Almost one half of dairy cows are treated for fertility problems. The situation is deteriorating, despite the massive use of hormonal and other active preparations. It is apparent that this treatment is only a short-term solution to the problem, that it often obscures the true state of health, and that it allows animals which should be culled to be kept in the breeding stations." Moreover, while the cows undergo treatment their milk cannot be used for human consumption.

The main cause of diseases among beef cattle, Hoffmann says, is the feed in use, which does not satisfy the cows' need for "intake of energy, nitrogenous and mineral

substances, vitamins and fibers." The lack of energy intake is said to put a great strain on animals' liver and to cause ketosis, while the shortage of high-fiber feed and the feeding of acid silage causes acidosis of the reticulum. Hoffmann cites the results of a survey carried out by the State Veterinary Administration, according to which only 46 percent of the 846 samples of feed which it examined last year were "unobjectionable." Hoffmann blames the "growth of the sickness rate" among beef cattle also on the "ill-advised raising of the Holstein breed." He concedes that dairy cows of this breed are "literally milk factories," but cautions that they require "high-quality feed with all the necessary components," which many agricultural enterprises are unable to provide. The consequence is the cows' weakened organism and disease. Hoffmann points out that, as a result of hard currency shortage, "some feed components and supplemental biofactors" could not be imported in the second half of last year and in the first half of this year, which is why "experts expect a further deterioration of the state of health of farm animals this year."

Women's Union Chairman Replaced

*LD3108171589 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1600 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] At its session in Prague today, the Czech Women's Union Central Committee released Miroslava Nencova from the post of chairman.

Hana Lagova, currently secretary of the Czech Council of Trade Unions and deputy of the Czech National Council, was elected to the post by acclamation.

The participants in the session also discussed the union's tasks for next year, when conclusions of this year's Czech and Czechoslovak congress are going to be fulfilled.

Porybny New RUDE PRAVO Deputy Chief

*AU0609102889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
5 Sep 89 p 2*

["RP"-signed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] On Monday [4 September], Comrade Zdenek Porybny was installed as RUDE PRAVO deputy editor-in-chief, a post into which he had been approved by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium on 25 August 1989. Comrade Zdenek Porybny had for years headed RUDE PRAVO's foreign affairs department. Between 1985 and the end of August 1989 he worked as RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Washington.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24-30 Aug

AU0109141889

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 25-31

August report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Pavel Hrivnak, Jaromir Johanes, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil, arrived in Banska Bystrica on 26 August to take part in celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. The delegation was welcomed by Ignac Janak at Sliac Airport. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 1)

On the same day the delegation took part in a wreath-laying ceremony in Banska Bystrica. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 1) On the same day in Banska Bystrica the delegation took part in a festive meeting of Slovak party and government bodies to mark the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 1) On the same day the delegation took part in a rally in Banska Bystrica marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. (PRAVDA 28 Aug pp 1,5) During the evening of the same day the delegation attended a cultural program which was held in the open-air theater in Banska Bystrica. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 5) During the evening of the same day the delegation departed from Banska Bystrica and was seen off by Ignac Janak at Sliac Airport. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 5)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Ignac Janak, held a meeting with Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in Banska Bystrica on 26 August. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 5; filed as AU2908115989)

Ladislav Adamec, in the presence of Pavel Hrivnak, received foreign participants in the Slovak National Uprising festivities, in Banska Bystrica on 26 August. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Aug 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak, accompanied by Pavel Hrivnak, laid a wreath on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, accompanied by Frantisek Hanus, attended the opening of an exhibition on the Slovak National Uprising, in Prague on 24 August. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug 89 p 1)

Pavel Hrivnak and Miroslav Zajic visited an agricultural fair in Nitra on 28 August. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Aug 89 p 2) On the same day in Nitra they received Yuriy Kolomeyets, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Ukrainian Gosagroprom, who was in Slovakia for a working visit. (PRAVDA 29 Aug 89 p 1; filed as AU3008125989)

Ivan Knotek, in the presence of Frantisek Hanus, chaired a meeting of regional party secretaries in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, received the Central Slovak party leadership during his visit to Banska Bystrica on 26 August. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 5; filed as AU2908161389)

Jan Fojtik, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chaired a meeting of the CPCZ Educational Commission to discuss preparations for the National Teachers' Conference, in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Socialist Republic premier, attended a rally marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, in Martin on 27 August. (PRAVDA 28 Aug 89 p 5) He attended a ceremony linking both sides of a new bridge across the Danube, in Bratislava on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 2) He chaired a joint meeting of the Slovak Government Presidium and the Slovak Trade Union Council in Bratislava on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2) He attended a meeting of participants in the Slovak National Uprising, in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Abdelhamid Latreche, ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the CSSR, in connection with the conclusion of his tour of duty, in Prague on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, visited the agricultural fair in Nitra on 27 August. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Aug 89 p 2) He chaired a meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee National Economic Commission in Prague on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 2; filed as AU3108141689)

Jozef Lenart, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, welcomed Vitaliy Vorotnikov at Ruzyně Airport in Prague on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 1) He presented an award to Eduard Saul, CSSR ambassador to China, in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, visited students picking hops in Louny on 25 August. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Aug 89 p 2) He received Yevgeniy Brakov, candidate member of the

CPSU Central Committee and director general of the Moscow ZIL Association, for talks on cooperation in production of medium sized heavy vehicles, in Prague on 25 August. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Aug 89 p 2; filed as AU2808154989) He visited a ball-bearing plant in Dolni Mecholupy in Prague on 28 August. (VECERNI PRAHA 28 Aug 89 p 1) He visited the Avia factory on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of its founding, in Prague-Letnany on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, visited the "Land-the-Provider" exhibition in Ceske Budejovice on 28 August. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Aug 89 p 2) He attended a South Bohemia regional party meeting on education in Ceske Budejovice on 29 August. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Aug 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, held a press conference on the preliminary results of this year's harvest in Prague on 24 August. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug 89 p 1; filed as AU2808162389) He presented an award to Karel Mracek, chairman of the Svihov United Agricultural Cooperative, in Prague on 24 August. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug 89 p 2) He opened the "Land-the-Provider" exhibition in Ceske Budejovice on 26 August. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Aug 89 p 1) He paid a visit to a cooperative farm in the Rakovnik district on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, held talks with Marcelino Camacho, chairman of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers Commissions of Spain, in Prague on 24 August. (RUDE PRAVO 25 Aug 89 p 2; filed as AU2908075389) He held a meeting with trade union functionaries in Ceska Lipa on 30 August. (PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 1)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, received Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, foreign minister of the Republic of Cuba, who was en route to the non-aligned summit in Belgrade, in Prague on 28 August. (RUDE PRAVO 29 Aug 89 p 2; filed as AU3008125589) He received Kim Kwang-sop, ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the CSSR, in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR interior minister, appointed new professors at the Police Academy in Prague on 30 August. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Aug 89 p 2)

Honecker Discusses 50th Anniversary of War

LD0609202389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1704 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADJ)—In its latest edition the Polish newspaper POLITYKA publishes an interview granted to the editor by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and chairman of the GDR's Council of State. The paper had asked for the interview on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the attack on Poland and the start of World War II. The text follows:

[Question] The 50th anniversary of the attack on Poland by Hitler Germany is a special opportunity to discuss our neighborly status in the past and future, both that of the Polish PR [People's Republic] with the GDR and that of the Germans and Poles in the new Europe which will be our "common home." What experiences has the GDR tried to make use of?

[Answer] Many people of my generation still remember the pictures of the spring of 1945, when the German Reich perished in the flames of World War II with the smashing of fascism by the armies of the anti-Hitler coalition. The heroic fight of the Red Army, the part played by the Polish Army, the joint resistance of German and Polish anti-fascists remains unforgotten. The foundation for a completely new relationship between our peoples was laid at the time.

With the German Democratic Republic, a German peace state emerged in history for the first time. It made direct use of the bitter experience of the recent past and eliminated the material and spiritual roots of fascism and war. The binding legacy of the victims of the Hitler dictatorship and the international anti-fascist struggle are inviolable principles of GDR state policy.

The GDR and the Polish PR have been in a firm militant community for peace for 4 decades. In the shaping of our relations—not only with Poland—we have above all taken into account our experience that the inviolability of frontiers and respect for the territorial and political realities of Europe, as they emerged as a result of World War II and postwar development, are indispensable preconditions for the maintenance of a permanent peace. This is all the more so since the arsenal of nuclear weapons leads to the inviolable conclusion that wars can no longer be conducted in Europe.

[Question] Anti-fascist traditions have become the foundation stone of the GDR. The Germans however, who subsequently became GDR citizens, were in 1945 by no means all anti-fascists who spent the war in prisons. After all, many of them enthusiastically listened to the reports of victories, many had even stormed the Westerplatte or bombarded Warsaw. Then, after the war of conquest had been defeated, the new frontier was established on the Oder and Neisse between the Germans and

Poles. How did people then fight the prejudices against Poland, first in the Soviet occupation zone and then in the GDR?

[Answer] When German anti-fascists, men and women of the first hour, set about overcoming want and hopelessness in the destroyed towns and villages, they were painfully aware that the spiritual ruins were among the worst legacies of the brown barbarism. At the time we knew that an anti-fascist-democratic transformation would only be a half-measure without the complete eradication of Nazi ideology. We therefore tackled the difficult job of familiarizing in particular the younger generation, which had grown up, been formed, misled, and misused under the rule and influence of fascism, with the values and ideals of humanism, international understanding, with democracy, as well as with the unadulterated truth about fascism and war. That was a task of great historic importance. The democratic reform of schools and higher education, the dismissal of all teachers and professors with a Nazi past was just as much a part of this as the reflection of the centuries of old common spiritual and progressive traditions of our two peoples, the working class movements and their parties.

Names such as Auschwitz and Majdanek, the Warsaw ghetto and the Warsaw uprising, the incalculable victims of the Polish people entered the consciousness of our people. Later other concepts were added—Spring on the Oder or Eisenhüttenkombinat Ost. They map out the path of rapprochement, working together, as did the intellectual appropriation of the rich treasures of Polish culture, the study of Poland's history and the teaching of Polish in GDR schools.

Our children and grandchildren meet today in the spirit of warm alliance and lively frankness, spend enjoyable and eventful holidays together. This shows that our friendship has developed deep roots and that the younger generation will preserve and deepen it.

[Question] Poland and the GDR have not only been linked by a common border, which was ceremonially and unconditionally recognized in the Goerlitz Agreement, but also by traditionally good cooperation since the founding of the GDR. Poland renounced part of the reparations from the GDR and worked for decades for the GDR's international recognition. Over the past 40 years, there have been periods of forced closeness and there also have been times in which the Oder-Neisse border was not very penetrable. People say today that our border could be a model for the one with the Federal Republic on the Elbe and Werra. As open or as closed?

[Answer] You apparently are referring to my statement during my visit to the FRG 2 years ago. This was based on the thought that lasting good-neighborliness between the two German states requires respect for the realities that emerged as a result of World War II and the postwar developments. It also requires renouncing all attempts to call the GDR's western border into question. In this context, the comparison with the peace border between

the GDR and the Peoples Republic of Poland on the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse was made as an appeal for the unreserved recognition of the territorial and political realities in Europe.

In other respects, there is, of course, a considerable difference between the GDR-FRG border and that between the GDR and the Peoples Republic of Poland. The former is the dividing line between the world's two largest military alliances; the latter is a peaceful border with a friendly and allied country. Extensive links and a comprehensive exchange of experiences, mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, as well as a variety of human contacts have developed across this border.

[Question] This peace border awakens many emotions in many tourists. This is not only a matter of long lines at the crossing points and bothersome border checks, but also of the areas of disagreement—which happily are no longer topical—such as agreeing on the limits of territorial waters in the Pomeranian Bight. Did this disagreement have to last so long?

[Answer] The Oder-Neisse border has proven itself to be a border of genuine peace and friendship. The number of people from our neighboring states who cross it is increasing year by year. I would like to point out the successful exchange of children and young people since 1983, which represents an act of international friendship unique in the world, as well as to the wide-ranging exchange of people on trade union-sponsored holidays, tourism via our travel agencies, and private visits, which recently have increased visibly. Apart from this, there is considerable transit traffic across this border. In the final analysis, the "lines" you mentioned are an expression of all this. Of course, relevant tasks arise for the customs officials from both states—who, by the way, have for the most part been carrying out the border checks together—from the differing development of the home markets and prices in the two countries.

As far as the problem of the demarcation of territorial waters in the Oder Bight is concerned, the important thing is that a solution was found which corresponded to the interests of both sides. As you know, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and I reached an agreement in principle on this issue during our meeting in Wrocław in June 1988, on the basis of which it was possible to clear up the difficult questions of detail at last.

[Question] Over these 40 years a variety of forms of cooperation has developed between the GDR and Poland which has brought people from both states closer. There are Germans from the GDR who live in Poland and there are thousands of Poles who live in the GDR. A Polish woman has become a deputy in the GDR—however there have also been some incidents, some involving skinheads. Is the readiness to be open towards foreigners in one's own country greater than existing reservations?

[Answer] Let the facts speak for themselves. Over 166,000 foreigners aged over 18 from 129 states work or study in the GDR, including thousands of Polish workers who are respected and valued by their German colleagues and fellow citizens. Almost 34,000 foreigners have chosen our country as their permanent residence and found a new home there. This proves our openness.

By our socialist social order in the GDR we have created a social environment in which friendship, solidarity, and respect for other nations determine people's way of thinking and behaving. Certainly, there have been the incidents you mention, but they are one-off events, which we take very seriously and pursue with the utmost rigor of the law. Xenophobia, Pan-German nationalism, neo-Nazism, revanchism, and racism have no basis in our socialist society and cannot form themselves into a political force, in contrast to other states. Even the hostile ideological influence from there cannot alter this. Educating the young generation certainly does need tolerance and patience, however, this can never be shown towards fascist and racist ideology.

[Question] Relations between the GDR and Poland have their own history—there were periods of friendship launched from above, with dislike beneath the surface. There were fears that the "Polish bacillus" could infect the GDR, and derogatory statements such as the Poles only go on strike and are a nation of shopkeepers. From our side there was sometimes irritation at the "Prussian goose-step" and distrust when suddenly Friedrich II and Bismarck were suddenly rediscovered in the GDR as reformers and statesmen. For us they were cynical power politicians who smashed the Polish state or mercilessly oppressed the Poles in Prussia. What opportunities and dangers are there today for our neighborly relations because of differences in historical consciousness and experiences?

[Answer] Relations between the GDR and People's Poland do indeed have their own history. I would like to repeat that they, above all, represent the continuation of the joint struggle of German and Polish revolutionaries, patriots, democrats, communists, and anti-fascists for international understanding, social progress, national freedom, and peace. Our workers' and peasants' state has finally broken with the Prussian policy of conquest, which determined the official picture of relations between Germans and Poles for more than 2 centuries. The historically new relationship between our two peoples, made possible by the building of socialism on both sides of the Oder-Neisse border, is a significant achievement which has had a stabilizing effect on the situation in Europe. This is symbolically expressed on the memorial to the Polish soldier and the German anti-fascist in Berlin-Friedrichshagen at which we will meet with our Polish friends on 1 September [as received] to remember Hitler Germany's criminal attack on Poland which unleashed World War II.

We all work on our history. It is only natural that in this process certain events and personalities are seen differently in individual countries. This arises from different

historical conditions and experiences. To come back to your question, I do not see any danger for our relations in this. Rather, the basic common ground between our people has opened up prospects of a rosy future in shaping the means of developing cooperation. For example, this is impressively reflected in the Treaty on the Youth Friendship Foundation between our two states, which Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and I signed during our meeting in Wroclaw in June 1988.

[Question] German-Polish neighborly relations was not an easy subject for the German Left. The German Communists were not supporters of the Versailles Treaty, which among other things once again assured Poland independence. The attack on Poland in 1939, too, was regarded with cool reserve by many German Communists, in line with Stalinist policy. Today there are discussions in Poland, in the Soviet Union, and also among Germans, about all aspects of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, which mapped out the zones of influence of the two partners in Poland a week before the attack on Poland. What consequences will these discussions have in the future?

[Answer] German-Polish relations were certainly burdened by the rapacious policy particularly of German imperialism and fascism. As for the revolutionary German working class movement, however, it has rich traditions of solidarity with the national and social liberation struggle of the Polish people which go back to the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. For this reason the Treaty of Versailles and the recognition of Poland's regained independence were two different things for the German communists. They resolutely fought the Treaty of Versailles, which placed unsupportable burdens on the German workers and nurtured the seeds of revanchism and war. At the same time the Communist Party of Germany opposed all manner of anti-Polish defamation by the German reaction and defended Poland's independence. You can read about this in many speeches by Ernst Thaelmann in the German Reichstag, for example.

One must strongly oppose any attempts to insinuate that the German communists reacted with cool reserve towards the Polish people who were attacked by Hitler Germany. As early as the beginning of September 1939, the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] condemned very strongly the war of conquest unleashed by German fascism and called for opposition to it. There is much evidence in both our countries of how, in the difficult conditions of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, German communists, Social Democrats, and other humanist forces immediately gave Polish prisoners of war and convicts solidarity and help from September 1939 onwards. I would like to point out that Polish deportees found their place in the German resistance movement and that German anti-fascists fought in the Armia Krajowa and Armia Ludowa.

I would like to say with regard to the discussions about the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of 23 August

1939 that we regard it as important to uncover the political circumstances of the 1930s which ultimately left the USSR no choice but to conclude a treaty of this nature. Here we mean among other things the policy of the Western powers which favored Hitler fascism and wiped out all initiatives by the Soviet Union for the speedy establishment of a system of collective security against the fascist aggressors.

[Question] The personalities of leading statesmen also influence the policies they help to shape. What do GDR politicians think of the reform process currently going on in Poland and which has led to the legalization of the opposition and a parliamentary system?

[Answer] What is going on in Poland is, of course, in the first instance a matter for our Polish neighbors themselves. Nonetheless we cannot, of course, be indifferent to developments in the Polish PR,—on the contrary. In view of the many links which have developed in the course of the multifaceted cooperation between our neighboring countries, we follow with great attentiveness, the difficult struggle of Polish communists in alliance with all progressive and democratic forces to defend and consolidate socialism in Poland. We wish the Polish people great success in solving the tasks confronting them, which are certainly not easy ones.

If you read our party's documents carefully you will know that the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] starts from the premise that the new society will be constructed taking into account the conditions in each individual country. There is no model which is valid for all socialist countries, rather the variety of paths of development is increasing. Each party is accountable for this to its own people.

Let me recall what we stated during our latest meeting with Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski in Berlin on 22 May: The Polish people will continue to have good neighbors and reliable allies in the people of the GDR.

[Question] There is movement in Europe. In East and West people are saying that the two parts of our continent should move closer together, and that applies to the two German states as well. How would one envisage the evolution of the GDR and its role in Europe in that case? People speak of a Finnish or Austrian model. How will the "GDR model" look if the blocs in Europe are perhaps no longer geared to confrontation?

[Answer] We can state with satisfaction that despite all resistance, far-reaching changes for the better are taking place in international relations. In seeing out this century, Europe has a historic opportunity to gradually create a new structure of common security. An important part is played here by the GDR and the other Warsaw Pact member-states, with their peace policy aimed at security and cooperation.

In this Europe the two German states, I am firmly convinced, will also assume their respected position. After all, a "moving together" of countries on our

continent does not mean "a moving away" from different social systems. We proceed on the basis that the trend in the development of good-neighborly relations will continue. In its striving to make irreversible the process of disarmament and detente in Europe the GDR will continue in the future to do everything to advance the political dialogue as well as agreements which serve peace and cooperation advantageous to all.

The full implementation of the principles and stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act and the other CSCE documents are decisive elements for the shaping of the common European home. In this spirit the GDR is carrying out its alliance contribution in the Warsaw Pact and is helping to gradually create all the preconditions which make possible the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

A future "GDR model" as you describe it, can only be a socialist one. Our comprehensive concept of society includes the guarantee of full employment and raising the standard of living as well as the steady improvement of the working conditions of all working people. In order to attain these aims we must continue the dynamic growth and all-round development in the economy, science, culture, and education. We assumed that the shaping of socialism is a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social and spiritual-intellectual changes. In making advances, new tasks emanate from domestic and external developments, which require a continual search for new paths. This is what we are doing.

[Question] Some socialist countries are reviving their contacts with the EC—the GDR is, as a result of its special economic relations with the Federal Republic, de facto closely linked with the EC. What are the prospects for the economic future of our states after 1992?

[Answer] As you know, the joint declaration on the start of official relations between the CEMA and EC was signed a year ago. In it the two sides not only recognized the realities which have emerged in Europe, but also underlined their readiness to advance along new paths of East-West cooperation. Since then there has been much movement, in particular in the bilateral sphere of relations between the CEMA states and the EC. All European CEMA states have conducted talks or negotiations on a trade agreement with the EC Commission. Some of them, for example Poland, have already signed such an agreement.

The GDR has declared its interest vis-a-vis the EC to reach contractual settlements. We want to make a contribution to the further normalization and improvement of East-West relations. Naturally economic considerations play a role here—it's no different in your country. From our point of view, forms of cooperation between the CEMA and EC should be built parallel to bilateral relations and be carried out to the benefit of both organizations and their member-states. The CEMA has submitted initial ideas on this.

We must also take into account that economic integration in the EC has reached a substantial level and is deepening

further. An expression of this is the planned establishment of an EC internal market by 1992. Such a development would naturally affect not only Western Europe, but also the conditions for East-West conditions as a whole. We must thus adapt to the new conditions in good time. What is decisive is to support the desire for cooperation in both East and West with concrete steps which take into account the interests of all involved parties.

[Question] The GDR refers to "socialism in the colors of the GDR." These colors are black, red, and gold like those of the German Republicans of 1848 and those on the flag of the Federal Republic. Could the common colors lead to a unification of the flags in the future, or does GDR society already have such a strong identity that it will not blend into the common colors? This interests us as your immediate neighbors.

[Answer] The two German states have used the colors black, red, and gold in their flags for historical reasons. As far as we are concerned we have quite consciously harked back to the democratic and revolutionary traditions of the German Republicans of 1848. You should also take into account that the GDR flag bears an emblem—a hammer, a wreath of corn, and dividers.

When we talk of socialism in the colors of the GDR then we mean the path in building socialist society which corresponds to our national and historical conditions. This has its own unmistakable characteristics in spite of the general rules which are also in effect in the fraternal socialist countries.

The "unification" you hinted at is a completely different issue. As is known, German imperialism has chosen to act in accordance with the basic principle proclaimed by Adenauer: "rather all of half Germany than the half of the whole of Germany." In order to achieve this goal he divided Germany 40 years ago. Today there are two sovereign German states, independent of one another, who belong to different social systems and military coalitions. That is the reality and at the same time a valuable piece of stability in Europe, it is part of the European peace-time order. These two states can be united as little as fire and water, but relations and cooperation between them can be developed; and we are acting in accordance with this precept.

[Question] Finally I return once more to 1 September, a painful date for us Poles—symbolic gestures sometimes also have a political significance in co-existence between nations. The Goerlitz Agreement gave us a feeling of security, but when the German anti-fascist and Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt went down on his knees in front of the Ghetto Memorial in Warsaw, it was a symbol of moral humility towards the victims. Soon a bell will be dedicated in the former concentration camp at Majdanek which has been donated by the "Sign of Atonement Campaign" from the GDR. However is it not the case that we Poles and Germans from the GDR have somewhat neglected a dialogue over the past few

years on the moral—and not only the class or political—responsibility for the past and the future?

[Answer] At this point let me return to the start of this interview. In the GDR our people have used its historical opportunity by building a new, socialist society on indestructible anti-fascist foundations through hard work. For over 4 decades we have committed ourselves to never again allowing war, threats, and racial hatred to emanate from German soil. We will never let up in our efforts.

In our country we have never slunk away from the German past or suppressed historical facts. On the contrary. The will and the duty to remember and admonish are and do remain a broad social concern for us. The people and the government of the GDR have done justice to this moral responsibility in their active humanism, their active maintenance of peace, and in their friendship with other nations in a spirit of solidarity, as well as in their untiring work in building socialism. We have always understood the moral obligation, and the political and class responsibility as a single thing and as a guideline for our actions. In our country no one would think of calling Poland's western frontier into question. You will find no document in the GDR which raises territorial claims against Poland. In our schools you will search in vain for books, maps and atlases which influence young people in the spirit of revanchism.

At this time, when humanity is remembering the start of the most terrible of all wars, I would once more like to express my conviction that the friendship and good neighborliness which has grown up between the GDR and the Polish PR over more than 40 years will be a solid basis for future, flourishing cooperation for the benefit of both our peoples.

PPR's Jaruzelski Receives GDR Delegation

AU0609142889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "Wojciech Jaruzelski Receives GDR Delegation"]

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—On Saturday [2 September] Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the People's Republic of Poland, received in Warsaw foreign delegations which had participated in the commemorative events on the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II. During the president's friendly talk with the GDR delegation, delegation head Bernhard Quandt, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and of the GDR State Council, conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. These were returned in kind by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Both sides affirmed the traditional relations of close friendship and overall cooperation between the two neighboring states and peoples.

In a short speech at the reception, the head of state said that for Poland the most important lesson of history is the obligation to contribute to the non-recurrence of war

and violence. Present were Sejm Marshal Mikolay Kozakiewicz and State Minister Jozef Czyrek.

Bundestag War Commemoration Criticized

AU0609133589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 2-3 Sep 89 p 7

[Article by ADN correspondent Horst Schaefer: "Bonn Did Not Make an Unambiguous Statement"]

[Text] Bonn—On Friday [1 September] the Bundestag and the FRG Government dealt with the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland by Hitler's Germany—unfortunately, however, the government and Parliament did not make the hoped-for unambiguous statement on recognition of the European borders. Although Chancellor Kohl said at the beginning of his government statement that a special responsibility arises for the FRG from the fact that World War II was triggered off by Hitler's criminal regime, the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] did not comply with the request by opposition politicians from the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Greens to clearly dissociate himself from statements by prominent government politicians—among them the ministers Waigel and Wilms—on the re-establishment of the German Reich with its borders of 1937 and to explicitly recognize the Oder-Neisse border. Kohl did not refer to this border at all in his speech, which lasted for almost 1 hour. He did not use the historic date to clarify or to reject such revanchist demands, which have caused indignation and made a stir all over the world.

Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/Christian Social Union [CSU] Bundestag Group, called western Poland "East German territory" on which only a "reunited Germany" can make agreements.

SPD Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt criticized the chancellor's government statement as being disquieting. He referred to the great importance of a secured peace in Europe and stressed that whoever questions the borders contradicts the Warsaw Treaty of 1970. The Germans in both states are to live up to their responsibility for peace and the future of Europe. The promise made together with the GDR and the determination that war must never again start from German soil express the will for peace, he stated.

Otto Graf Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] also stressed that whoever questions the European borders that resulted from World War II questions peace in Europe. However, a petition of the SPD and the Greens that, precisely on the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland, the Bundestag should affirm "the permanent existence of Poland's western border" and state that there are no territorial claims against Poland was rejected in a roll-call vote with 208 negative votes from the CDU/CSU and the FDP.

Attempts by the SPD to achieve a joint profession of the validity and inviolability of the eastern borders by all

Bundestag groups had been frustrated on the eve of the antiwar day by the government coalition's strict refusal. The SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG of Friday [1 September] called this "very disgraceful and a symptom of the past that has not yet been overcome." The Parliamentary Political Press Service (PPP) in Bonn stated that the grotesque attempt by the Bundestag and the government to avoid a clear decision in the border question had overshadowed the 50th anniversary of the fascist invasion of Poland.

Anti-fascist Rally Announced in Berlin

AU0609113989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 2-3 Sep 89 p 8

[Boxed announcement at the top the page]

[Text] Berliners!

The bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the bezirk committee of the GDR National Front, and the Committee of the GDR Antifascist Resistance Fighters call on you to attend the mass rally.

Participate in the mass rally in Bebelplatz at 1000 on Sunday, 10 September 1989.

The slogan for this year's international commemoration day for the victims of fascist terror and for the day of struggle against fascism and imperialist war is:

Forty years of the GDR—we are living up to the anti-fascist legacy in the struggle for socialism and peace, against fascism and war!

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and anti-fascist resistance fighters from abroad will speak.

Nier Tells FRG It Bears Responsibility

LD0609220189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1737 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Leading FRG politicians, as well as the country's media, will now go to any lengths to discredit the GDR, to spread presumptuous accusations about the country, and to propagate disinformation. Here we will only refer to what has recently been taking place in the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR, where for weeks now 116 GDR citizens have been staying illegally. Attempts are being made to stir up emotions with tear-jerking stories about their situation; the stories are being thrust into the FRG media by workers at the representation. These are, however, unsuitable means for covering up who is really responsible for this situation and who got the citizens in question into such a shameful situation.

Here is a clear answer to that: On behalf of the GDR, Deputy Foreign Minister Nier told the representative of the FRG Federal Chancellor's Office, Duisberg, that no one besides the FRG is illegally granting GDR citizens

permission to stay in the Federal Republic's mission and encouraging them to hope, against their better judgment, that they can in this way apply force to achieve permission to emigrate. At the same time, it was made clear that in the matter of emigration for GDR citizens, responsibility rests with those authorities alone who are granted authority by law, while the FRG has responsibility for seeing that the GDR citizens leave the FRG representation immediately.

On 18 August Secretary of State Dr Krolkowski, the GDR first deputy minister for foreign affairs, told the federal minister for special tasks and head of the Federal Chancellor's Office, Rudolf Seiters, quite clearly that the GDR cannot accept the FRG using its missions to support GDR citizens' attempts to gain special rights for themselves by means of blackmail. The FRG was expressly asked to ensure that the GDR citizens in the FRG missions leave these places and go to their places of origin. The assurance was given that there would be no judicial consequence.

Despite the GDR's assurances, the FRG has not taken any steps at all to resolve the problem. This was instead done by the GDR, which continues to be extremely accommodating and put further ideas to the FRG side.

In talks with the FRG, as on 31 August 1989, a basic agreement on a solution was finally reached. It was also agreed that having GDR citizens staying in FRG representations is not an appropriate way of obtaining permission to leave the GDR on a permanent basis.

Moreover, in addition to the freedom from punishment for the GDR citizens, which was announced, further assurances were given in the statement by the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman on 4 September 1989.

In spite of the GDR's fast response and its accommodating attitude, nothing has, until now, decisively changed. One can only conclude that the other side does not want to use its possibilities to bring about a solution along the lines put forward by the GDR and agreed upon. In this respect, the FRG is not keeping its word and alone bears responsibility for the situation that has come about.

First Contracts Concluded at Leipzig Fair

AU0709080589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Lively Trade and First Contracts at the Beginning of the Fair"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Important export and import contracts with trading partners from numerous countries characterize the lively business activities of GDR foreign trade. Thus, the export of electronic data processing equipment from Robotron to the USSR was agreed on. Baukema concluded contracts with the Soviet Stroydormasheksport on the export of road rollers, bituminous finishers, and hydraulic excavators for 1990; the Union

Foreign Trade Enterprise purchases 20,000 household refrigerators from the Minsk Veras Company.

Next year miners' helmet lamps and spare parts will be delivered to Hungary; drilling equipment will be purchased from Romania as well as hard-disk memories for the completion of large computers and 70 electric forklift trucks from Bulgaria. L 60 trucks, motorcycles, and tractors will be exported to China.

On the first day of the fair GDR foreign trade enterprises concluded extensive export and import contracts with Austrian companies. Thus, the GDR is purchasing ready-made clothes, knitted outerwear, leather clothes, and leather goods. The import program also includes chocolate products, jams, wine, and cheese.

The GDR will deliver metallurgical products and machinery for the metallurgical industry to Austria.

The signing of the contracts was attended from the Austrian side by Austrian Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel; Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Federal Economic Chamber; Ambassador Franz Wunderbaldinger; and other figures. From the GDR side Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer and Deputy Minister of Trade and Supply Manfred Merkel were present. They paid tribute to the fact that Austrian companies are represented with an extensive, wide range of offers at this year's Leipzig Autumn Fair.

Export contracts on potash were signed by the Potash Mining Foreign Trade Enterprise with Brazilian customers. The Heim-Electric Foreign Trade Enterprise will deliver products of the Ruhla Vehicle Electronics Combine to the Spanish company SEAT in the period through 1994. According to a contract concluded at the fair, in 1990 the FRG company Volkswagen will receive glass products for the automobile industry worth more than 20 million accounting units from the GDR.

The Fruchtimex Foreign Trade Enterprise purchases nuts and hazelnuts from Italian and Spanish traders. Among other things, five diesel generator units will be exported to India.

Reports Cover Meetings

AU0709081789

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 4 September on page 2 carries three ADN reports, totalling 500 words, on meetings between GDR officials and foreign officials at the Leipzig Autumn Fair on 3 September.

The first report (150 words) reports the meeting between Wolfgang Mitzinger, GDR minister of coal and energy, and representatives of FRG companies—Jens-Peter Schaefer, chairman of the board of directors of Lurgi Limited; Guenter Linke, chairman of the board of directors of Lentjes Corporation and the F. Lentjes Foundation; and Welmur Wiehn, chairman of the board of directors of the German Babcock Company.

The second report (200 words) reports the meeting of GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer and Michael Sohlman, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of Sweden, during which the two interlocutors stated that "trade and economic relations between the GDR and Sweden are developing well." The interlocutors are reported as stressing "the interest in the further deepening of economic cooperation," in particular industrial cooperation.

The third report (150 words) reports the meeting between GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer and Sir Trevor Holdsworth, president of the British Industrialists' Association, during which the interlocutors expressed "the intention to promote and support activities necessary for a further stimulation of economic cooperation."

Participants at Stoph Dinner

AU0609140389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR-USSR Relations Unprecedented in their Intensity and Variety"]

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—On Sunday [3 September] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet Government delegation that is staying in the GDR on the occasion of the Leipzig Autumn Fair, headed by Academician Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology. [passage omitted covered by referent item]

From the GDR side the following persons participated in the dinner: Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; deputy Council of Ministers chairmen Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Horst Soelle; Guenter Ehrensperger, head of a SED Central Committee department; Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery construction; Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles; and other personages.

From the USSR side the following persons were present: Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Vladimir Papanov, first deputy minister of machine tool and tool building industry; Aleksandr Dunayev, deputy minister of general machine building; Yevgeniy Ossadchuk, deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Ivan Yemelyanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; Igor Kanayev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Oleg Kanishchev, first deputy department head of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers; Bruno Saul, USSR trade representative in the GDR; and other personages.

Axen Receives SWAPO President Nujoma

*AU0609104189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 2-3 Sep 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "SWAPO President of Namibia Received in Berlin: Meeting With Sam Nujoma in the House of the SED Central Committee"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] of Namibia, for a friendly talk in the house of the Central Committee on Friday [1 September].

Hermann Axen conveyed greetings of solidarity and friendship from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, to President Nujoma, and congratulated him on the fact that the SWAPO's heroic struggle and the policy of peace and dialogue have led to a new stage in the struggle for Namibia's independence.

Sam Nujoma conveyed cordial greetings and wishes for Erich Honecker's recovery. On behalf of the Namibian people and its liberation organization SWAPO, he

expressed thanks for the decades of efficient support which the SED, and the GDR Government and people have provided for the just struggle for his country's independence. Sam Nujoma reported that he will soon return to Namibia and take charge of SWAPO's election campaign.

Hermann Axen stressed that the GDR, on the basis of its fundamental peace policy, welcomes the steps toward a regulation of the conflict in Southwest Africa and actively supports them. The 50th anniversary of the start of World War II admonishes the peoples to strengthen peace and to render irreversible the shift that has been started from confrontation to cooperation in every region. The people of the GDR are following the process for Namibia's independence with great attention and appreciation, and wish SWAPO success in the November elections this year, he stated.

Shekwetepo Haindongo, SWAPO representative in the GDR, and Peter Rabenhorst, deputy director of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee, attended the meeting.

On 2 September 1989 Sam Nujoma will travel to Belgrade to participate in the ninth summit of the non-aligned states.

Further on UK Defense Minister King's Visit**Straub Receives King***LD0609192889 Budapest MTI in English
1800 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, met Tom King, secretary of state for defence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, on Tuesday in the parliament building. At the cordial meeting, the sides discussed the results of European detente to date, the situation that has come about with respect to intensifying military confidence and security, the possibilities of advance, and the welcome development in Hungarian-English relations. The sides paid particular attention to the results attained in the relation between the two armies, and the opportunities to further improve such relations. Also present at the meeting was Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, and John Allan Birch, ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Hungary.

Karpati, King Hold Press Conference*LD0609214589 Budapest MTI in English
2022 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—As reported, Ilie Ceausescu, Romanian deputy minister of national defence, is not to visit Hungary, in spite of preliminary plans, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, announced at an international press conference held on Wednesday in Budapest, on the occasion of the visit to Hungary of Tom King, British secretary of state for defence.

Discussing the visit of Mr King to Budapest, Mr Karpati said: The importance of the visit is given by the fact that he is the second minister of defence of a NATO country to visit Hungary. His visit can thus be considered the beginning, and also the continuation of a more intensive building of relations.

In answer to a question by MTI's correspondent, the Hungarian minister of defence said:

"There is lively interest shown for Hungary, both by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The Hungarian Government, and as part of it, the Defence Ministry, is open to the intention for building relations, irrespective of from where the intention comes from. We wish to create an identical partnership relation with everyone. The seeking of contacts with the NATO member states is not some sort of "Warsaw Treaty acceptance of role", although it is also obvious that the countries that belong to the Warsaw Treaty maintain constant dialogue. Budapest is the host the next conference of Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers at the end of November."

Mr King mainly stressed that his visit to Hungary sets an example, particularly in the light of the Vienna talks

aimed at reducing the European conventional weapons. The British secretary of state for defence said that the opportunity to better the situation of Europe, "frozen in fear" for the past more than four decades, for detente and the strengthening of confidence is more favourable now than ever before. At the same time, it would be dangerous to "run ahead", cautious, well considered steps are needed from both sides, taking the consequences into far-reaching consideration. Mr King said this in answer to a question about the proposal made by MP Zoltan Kiraly to simultaneously dissolve the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in the near future. Mr King noted it should also be kept in view that although the climate of confidence is strengthening, the structures do not yet show genuine changes. Military units continue production, military budgets are significant, and huge arsenals face each other. Mr King said he had invited Mr Karpati for an official visit to Great Britain." [quotation marks as received]

Further on Press Conference*LD0709035689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Contrary to earlier plans, Ilie Ceausescu, the Romanian deputy defense minister, will not visit Hungary after all. The Hungarian defense minister announced the news at the press conference which was held in Budapest on the occasion of the Hungarian-British defense talks. Miklos Martin-Kovacs spoke with Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati.

[Begin recording] [Karpati] We, the Hungarian military leadership, know exactly what kind of writings Romanian General Ilie Ceausescu and many others have had published, and we will not remain silent about this. Years ago, he had a book published, which stated that the Red Army of the Hungarian Republic of Councils [1919] committed aggressions against monarchist Romania. (?We spoke) very sharply about this and numerous other writings of his. It is a bad feeling, it hurts me personally, my self-esteem too, if somebody thinks that we are not adequately representing Hungarian interests. [passage indistinct]

[Martin-Kovacs] Poland's new prime minister is the Solidarity candidate. How do you, as Hungarian defense minister, evaluate the new situation, because there has never been anything like this in the history of the Warsaw Pact?

[Karpati] Well, this is indeed new; we are getting used to the idea. But, the new Polish prime minister has also declared that he continues to be of the opinion that Poland will not renounce its affiliation to the Warsaw Pact and will fulfill it in all respects. Poland is a very important strategic country, from the point of view of the balance of the whole of Europe. Poland's geopolitical position is well known. [sentence indistinct]. I am convinced, however, that the method can very correctly be found—those very strict state and military secrets—that

the Polish Government keep itself to alliance obligations, which in this case is definitely justified and necessary. [sentence as heard] [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Grosz Holds Talks in Helsinki, Ends Visit

LD0509202889 Budapest MTI in English
1928 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 5 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP], ended his official working visit to Finland and left for Budapest on Tuesday afternoon.

On Tuesday morning, Mr Grosz met with Jarmo Wahlstrom, president of the Communist Party of Finland. Mr Grosz said that the HSWP is following the renewal efforts of the Communist Party of Finland with great interest and sympathy. The HSWP is also of the opinion that the international communist and workers' movement, including the parties of the socialist countries, has been rather slow in answering the challenges of the age. It has not carried out an exacting analysis of the results of the development of society to date, and has still not come up with its conclusions. He also said that the HSWP supports the multi-party system, given that occurrences of crisis can only be solved with the cooperation of the whole of society. Hungary is progressing from bureaucratic socialism to democratic socialism.

Mr Grosz also met Paavo Vairynen, chairman of the Finnish Centre Party. The party chairman welcomed the practice of the Hungarian party of examining the experiences of other countries, but added that all countries differ, and the experiences gained cannot be automatically applied. Mr Grosz and Mr Vairynen both stressed that the HSWP and the Finnish Centre Party will continue to develop their relations. The party chairman accepted an invitation to visit Hungary.

Mr Grosz met Prime Minister Harri Holkeri. The HSWP general secretary reconfirmed that the Hungarian invitation extended earlier continues to be valid. The prime minister indicated he plans to visit Hungary next year, and would like to continue the dialogue opened with Mr Grosz. The Finnish prime minister was satisfied to hear that Hungarian convertible exports had risen considerably both in 1988 and 1989. The external positions of the Hungarian economy are improving, he agreed that even more favourable conditions should be created with political means to involve Finnish capital in Hungary, and to expand Hungarian-Finnish commercial and economic relations.

During the day, Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, held talks with Ake Wihtol, Finnish secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry. At Mr Wihtol's request, Mr Kovacs set forth the Hungarian position on the problem of the GDR refugees. He stressed that the solution naturally depends on the GDR and the agreements between the two German states. It is in Hungary's interest that the solution be in keeping with the Hungarian concept of human rights.

Grosz Interviewed During Visit

PM0609130089 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET
in Swedish 5 Sep 89 p 5

[Report on undated Helsinki interview with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Bjarne Nitovuori: "Virtual Agreement on New Election Law in Hungary"]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition have practically agreed on the new electoral law. So said party general secretary Karoly Grosz during his visit to Helsinki.

Earlier there was disagreement on whether the new parliament should have one or two chambers, for example, with one chamber consisting of representatives of specialist organizations. The proposal for a bicameral parliament came from one of the opposition parties, but the rest of the opposition was opposed to the proposal and it was dropped.

There will now be a unicameral parliament of 350 deputies. Some 150 will be elected from single-deputy constituencies and 150 from electoral lists. The other 50 will be extra seats awarded to compensate for an imbalance in the distribution of seats.

Since the two-chamber proposal was made the trade union movement has been demanding that it be allowed to field its own candidates. Since the other sides in the negotiations have taken the view that only political parties should be given this right, the trade union movement's representatives have left the negotiating table.

However, the date of an election has still not been decided. Sections of the opposition want to arrange the election for this year, others for next year.

"From our party's point of view it probably makes no difference when the election is held, but it would perhaps be best if it were arranged for this year. The party's stance will be decided at a Central Committee meeting 25 September."

The 5-year term of the present parliament ends 9 June and after that date new elections must be arranged within 3 months at the latest. According to Grosz, the date of the election is not an issue for negotiations between party and opposition. The matter will be decided by the present parliament when it comes up for discussion 26 September.

Last summer there were by-elections in some places in Hungary and the party did not do very well. According to Grosz, the party's defeat is not as worrying as the people's lack of interest in taking part in elections.

"This has been explained in many ways—for example, by the fact that the elections were held in the middle of the holiday period. However, the most important reason was that people were unsure. They do not see any differences between different programs. As far as the

election result is concerned, I believe that the candidates' personal qualities were of greater significance than their party affiliations," he said.

A few days ago there were reports in the foreign press that Karoly Grosz is prepared to leave the party leadership, probably at the next party congress, which will be held in about a month's time.

"That must be a misunderstanding because of some translation error," Grosz explained, proceeding to outline the organizational reforms being planned within the party.

The party will again be led by a chairman, while the post of general secretary will be abolished. The center of gravity in the party's activities will be transferred to local sections and at the center a committee comprising representatives of the local party organizations will be set up. The party leadership will consist of one body, which will probably be called the presidium.

"If I am elected at the party congress, I will be very glad to work in the Presidium. Thus you can see that I did not say that the party leadership is going to be reorganized," Grosz said.

Recent political developments in Hungary, which mean, for example, that the MSZMP is losing its former monopoly position, have also led to splitist tendencies within the party. However, Grosz does not think that the party will split down the middle. There is, however, bound to be some loss of members on the flanks.

"It is natural for the new parties that have arisen after 40 years of single-party rule to try to attract members from our party. But there is no question of a split down the middle of the party; it is just that some people are leaving the party. At present the party has 740,000 members, that is, 12-13 percent of those entitled to vote. If, let us say, some 100,000 of them leave the party, that is nothing special," Grosz said.

He reckons that 6-7 percent of the members on both wings of the party will leave.

Grosz does not like this division of the party into two wings, where Imre Pozsgay and Rezső Nyers represent the reformist wing and he himself a conservative wing.

"I admit that on many issues I am a conservative. I value the history of the workers' movement highly. In the future too, 'work' and 'solidarity' will be important words for me.

"At the same time I do not think that I would in any way oppose new thinking. But I will not embrace new ideas simply because they are in fashion. This must be due to my special position: I do not have that much in my past which needs to be corrected," he said.

Our objection that he has nevertheless recently been forced to reassess his view of the events of 1956 and the multiparty system was countered by Grosz as follows:

"I still consider that the final phase of the events of 1956 was a counterrevolution. I do not think very much of decorations, but I do wear one medal—the one I received for my efforts in the struggle against the counterrevolution. I cannot see that hanging people is democratic renewal. I have seen such things with my own eyes.

"As far as the multiparty system is concerned, I have actually carried out a reassessment. I have followed developments in Poland very carefully and have come to the conclusion that a multiparty system would perhaps offer greater opportunities for overcoming differences."

In Grosz' view, the appointment of a noncommunist prime minister in Poland gives no cause for concern as long as it is not a change of system.

Grosz supports former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's call in Helsinki to the Hungarians and the Poles to proceed cautiously so as not to provoke a Soviet intervention, in the sense that he considers caution necessary. On the other hand he does not really believe in the invasion threat. In his view it is not Soviet tanks which represent the threat, but the fact that the masses are not keeping up with the reform process.

"And in the final analysis it makes no difference what a collapse might be due to," he said.

GDR Refugees Threaten To Go on Hunger Strike

AU0609082889 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 6 Sep 89 p 1

[Excerpts] Budapest/Bonn—The Hungarian Government has given the red light to the evacuation of the about 5,000 registered GDR refugees in the camps in Budapest and on Lake Balaton.

On Tuesday [5 September] Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary in the Budapest Foreign Ministry, again dampened the hopes of the GDR citizens that they might soon leave for the West by saying that there is "no quick decision in sight"; the matter could take "days, if not weeks." [passage omitted]

GDR refugees are speaking of a "desperate situation." On Tuesday about 30 refugees gathered in the Zugliget camp and announced that on Friday [8 September] they would start an unlimited hunger strike to draw attention to their situation. [passage omitted]

In a press release the GDR Embassy in Vienna speaks of an "unrestrained baiting campaign of certain FRG forces against the GDR" which has gone on for weeks. This campaign is not only aimed at discriminating against the GDR and its allies but is a "direct challenge to socialism in cold-war style."

Laszlo Rajk Meets French Premier in Paris

LD0109111789 Budapest MTI in English
0724 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Paris, September 1 (MTI)—French Prime Minister Michel Rocard invited for dinner Laszlo Rajk Jr, manager of the Alliance of Free Democrats of Hungary (SZDSZ), and Adam Michnik, advisor to the Solidarity of Poland, in Paris on Thursday.

Rajk told Csaba Kiss, MTI's Paris correspondent, that he considered the invitation by Rocard very important. He proceeded to say that the French Socialist Party is about to make a turnaround: It will support not the reform communist wing, but the democratic parties that have a socialist character. In the case of Hungary, three parties were mentioned: SZDSZ, FIDESZ [Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth] and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP).

Their exchange of views also touched upon the Transylvanian question. Both sides feel the solution lies in allowing the free crossing of the border, like between Tyrol and Italy.

Mr Rajk also said that apart from the prime minister, he had also met the head of the International Department of the French Socialist Party. They dealt with questions relating to practical cooperation with FIDESZ and the MSZDP, in addition to the SZDSZ. The French party is ready to provide material assistance in the preparation of the election campaign, in public opinion survey and the tackling of other technical tasks.

Expanded Relations With Libya Desired

LD0509054489 Budapest MTI in English
2356 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliamentary delegation which attended the large-scale series of events held to mark the Libyan Revolution Day (September 1) under the leadership of Istvan Fodor, deputy speaker of parliament, has returned to Budapest.

In an interview with MTI, Mr Fodor said that at talks with leading officials of the General People's Congress, the sides had reported on the events taking place in the two countries. It was also stressed that, although there are no particularly debated questions in the political relations between the two countries, a major decline has been experienced in the past two or three years in economic cooperation. For instance, the economic joint committee has not met for talks for two years.

Our country would like to expand its relations with Libya. For example, the delegation took with it a letter in which minister of transport, telecommunications and construction, Andreas Derzsi, said he would welcome the opportunity to join in the work of the joint committee. Alongside this, we also expect the development of relations from the forthcoming visit to Libya of representatives of Several Hungarian ministries. It was

the view of the Libyan partners that developing cooperation between our countries is absolutely justified, and as a form of this, they wish to involve working capital in Hungary, Mr Fodor said.

Angolan President To Pay Official Visit

LD0509190289 Budapest MTI in English
1707 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Workers' Party, is to pay an official friendly visit to Hungary from September 7-8.

He will be the guest of Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

MTI Report on TASS Interview With Nemeth

LD0409220789 Budapest MTI in English
1747 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI/TASS)—“The forthcoming congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has to approve the party's manifesto, and all party members, including the members of the reform circles, have the right to set forth their proposals about their platform,” said Miklos Nemeth, member of the Presidium of the party and prime minister, after the second national conference of HSWP reform circles, in an interview with the Budapest correspondent of the Soviet news agency TASS.

“In the course of working out the manifesto, the committee appointed by the Central Committee and led by Imre Pozsgay endeavoured to incorporate the various proposals into the document. However, the majority of party members consider the document only as a basis for debate. So it's not final yet: this is also a break with the previous practice, when the documents approved by the Central Committee or other party bodies were almost considered as gospel. The HSWP manifesto is not like that, and this proves that we genuinely want a political party, and not a bureaucratic party of implementors, which is directed from above and in which the initiatives come from above.

“After the HSWP party conference in May, 1988, the party itself initiated pluralism within the party and society. The diversity of platforms, ideas, the tendencies can only be of use for renewal. From this aspect, the grass-root initiative of the reform circles indicated, both to the country and the party, the vital strength of the HSWP, and that it is capable of renewal even under the bureaucratic system that still exists for the time being,” Mr Nemeth said.

“This is true not only of the 10,000 communists who have unanimously joined some reform circles of the HSWP, but also of the party member who sympathize with and support the activity of the reform circles. This

movement is a fact today, and intensifies the base to renew the HSWP. The goals it pursues are well-intentioned, and I am confident that the results of its activity will be positive.

"At present, very many kinds of forces are represented in the HSWP. The party should define itself and create its position. I am confident that the entire HSWP will be renewed on the road of radical reforms, and that it will make it possible for anyone who decides that what the party manifesto contains doesn't suit them to leave," Mr Nemeth said.

Further Reportage on Trilateral Political Talks

SZOT Statement on Talks

AU0609125289 Budapest NEPSZAVA
in Hungarian 31 Aug 89 p 5

["Tripartite Talks—Statement" - NEPSZAVA headline]

[Text] In the past period, the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) has repeatedly expressed its position that the trade union members are basically interested in the creation of a multiparty system of democratic institutions and in securing the conditions of a peaceful transition to such a system. This commitment prompted the SZOT to participate in the political and economic talks dealing with issues of the transitional period among the organizations of the third negotiating party.

For the trade unions, an important condition of these talks was to see the emergence of general legal and political conditions that will contribute to the successful functioning of bodies representing interests, and the creation of economic programs that can also include the people living on wages and salaries and other employees in the process of economic reorganization.

The SZOT presidium thinks that the success of our participation so far lies in the fact that we have succeeded in helping to create acceptable compromises in several details and we have gained a detailed view in the way individual parties are forming their opinions and positions, and thus making it possible for us to draw important conclusions for the behavior the trade unions should follow at the elections.

At the same time, in the current stage of negotiations, one can increasingly feel the consequences of an absurd situation, namely that the National Roundtable Conference did not create its own rules of procedure. As a result, procedures often follow momentary decisions, mainly in the lower- and middle-level talks.

The SZOT presidium regrets to conclude that the economic talks of major importance for the trade unions did not exceed the level of experts' debates and there is hardly any hope that these debates will have any consequences stipulated in agreements and normative regulations.

The SZOT presidium regards it as even more serious that the political coordinating talks are increasingly becoming an exclusive inter-party forum. The Third Side has no chance in trying to assert its position on many important issues, like the demand for the new election law to provide opportunities for certain public organizations to genuinely participate in the elections. The debates increased primarily on the issue of the right to nominate candidates, as long as the Opposition Roundtable and the MSZMP only recognized the nomination right of parties.

All this in itself is not a reason for the trade unions to come to a final conclusion concerning their participation in the talks. However, the fact that, in a well-known manner, the Opposition Roundtable questioned the equal right of the third negotiating side and thus prevented the emergence of a really tripartite consensus, is such a reason. Unfortunately, the third negotiating side was left alone in the debates on its equal rights.

The SZOT presidium expresses its deep concern over the fact that, this way, representatives of public organizations are not given a real role in shaping our future. The SZOT presidium thinks that large masses of employees could be left out of creating the political and economic conditions aimed at facilitating a peaceful transition.

Without rights, and only representing organizations that have responsibilities, the SZOT negotiating delegation does not wish to participate in the activity of the Political Coordinating Committee. Therefore, the SZOT presidium is suspending the further participation of its negotiating delegation and is turning to the SZOT plenary session scheduled for 6 September with the proposal to finally withdraw the mandate of the negotiating delegation after evaluating the circumstances.

Budapest, 30 August 1989

The Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions

Socialism, Party Role Discussed

LD0509091489 Budapest MTI in English
0626 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—Several important questions have been discussed at the medium level trilateral political interest coordinating talks held in parliament in Budapest on Monday evening. The delegation of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] was led by Imre Pozsgay, that of the Opposition Roundtable by Viktor Orban and that of the Third Side by Bela Rabi.

It was announced that the expert committees had been successful in reaching a consensus on the question of MP incompatibility. All three sides approve the proposal of the Opposition Roundtable according to which judges, prosecutors, constitutional judges, members of the armed forces and people employed in certain areas of the administration cannot be elected MPs.

On the introduction of the institution of the president of the Republic, Imre Pozsgay said the HSWP's position was that the head of state should be elected not by parliament but the people through direct referendum before the parliamentary elections. Further discussion of the subject was referred back to the expert committees.

They agreed on a stalemate question whether the constitution should contain the word "socialism". Following the making of several small modifications in the text, the HSWP and the Opposition Roundtable finally reached a compromise also approved by the Third Side. The sides agreed that there would be no preamble to the constitution, yet the text would contain the following definition: 'The Hungarian Republic is an independent, democratic and constitutional state, which combines the values of both the bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism.'

On the question of the activity of parties in the working place, Imre Pozsgay had the following to say:

The HSWP maintains its former proposal that there should be no party organizations at courts, public bodies, such as councils and ministries, as well as the armed forces and corps. At the same time, the Central Committee modified its position as regards other types of working place at its latest session. Accordingly, at non-public bodies, the various parties can set up their organizations under equal conditions, yet they cannot carry out political activity during the working hours, and cannot be incorporated into the organizational and management system of the working place, or pass decisions that make a major influence on the working place.

On behalf of the Opposition Roundtable, Jozsef Antall said: The proposal of the Central Committee for modification was unexpected. The standpoint of the opposition is that no parties should be allowed to operate in the working place. He asked Imre Pozsgay about the position of the government in this question, as it will be the government that will put forward the draft of the party law. Imre Pozsgay considered the question justified but said that he would provide an answer only after the forthcoming government session.

The Third Side agreed with the proposal that there should be no party organization in the working place.

As the three sides have not been able to reach a consensus on the parties - working place question, discussion on the subject was adjourned to the next round of medium level talks.

There was, however, a consensus reached on the foreign financing of parties. Accordingly, parties cannot accept funds or anonymous grants from other parties. The origin of all the money received from abroad should be made public.

The medium level political interest coordinating talks are to continue on Wednesday.

Trade Unions' Absence Regretted

LD0509195989 Budapest MTI in English
1838 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—The Tuesday [5 September] statement of the Goodwill Committee of the political coordination talks stressed the importance of the third negotiating side's participation: this is the common position of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the Opposition Roundtable. However, representatives of the trade unions are not present in the conference room. What did Imre Pozsgay, leader of the HSWP negotiating delegation, have to say about this?

"I regret that representatives of the trade unions are not present, as I feel their participation would be indispensable in the coordinating work from the point of view of a peaceful political transition, for instance. The leadership of the HSWP has, from the outset, supported the participation of the trade unions, and its position remains unchanged today."

Referring to the equality of the negotiating sides, Mr Pozsgay said: "Differences in views between the sides can almost be considered natural in these complex and passionate talks. The historical significance of the discussions lies precisely in the fact that they successfully strive to create a common denominator, the peaceful transition in keeping with European political culture. The Hungarian trade union movement cannot stay away from the common solution of this task", Mr Pozsgay told MTI.

PEC Briefed

LD0509231389 Budapest MTI in English
1943 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—The Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was informed on Tuesday about the state of the trilateral political talks, the activity of the HSWP delegation, and the outline of the working order of the party congress.

The body discussed the cultural and educational programmes of the HSWP. The main point of these is to create an effective educational system. The starting point is a primary school system overhauled both as regards quality and conditions, and the goal is to bring about compulsory secondary education and the expansion of higher education.

On the basis of a report on current issues in the cooperative movement, the PEC termed the future role of cooperatives to be of outstanding importance. It reviewed the economic processes of 1989, and the report on the proposal for the guidelines of the economic policy programme for 1990.

The Political Executive Committee has now closed the Csaba Tabajdi case. The body disapproved the means of the statements made by Mr Tabajdi in his capacity as deputy head of department, and dissociated itself from

his statements. The PEC warned Mr Tabajdi about these. It reinstated Mr Tabajdi as deputy head of department.

The Political Executive Committee summoned the next session of the Central Committee for September 12.

Talks Continue

*LD0709090489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2200 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] At the medium-level round of the trilateral political talks questions in connection with the electoral talks were discussed first. Compared with earlier plans, the number of deputies was increased by 24, thus enabling fragmented votes to be taken into account.

The debate in connection with workplace party organizations continued. On this question the stances came no closer to each other, even after today's negotiations. There are also debates on the financing of parties. It is agreed however, that the multiparty system cannot cost more than the single-party system.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] maintains its opinion that it is obliged to give an account of its assets only to its membership. At the same time, the debate moved toward agreement when Imre Pozsgay said that the MSZMP is willing to give an account of its assets to the freely elected parliament. Then Imre Nagy, representative of the Third Side, said that a consensus on party law can shortly be formed.

Horn Comments on Party-Government Relationship

*LD0109225989 Budapest MTI in English
2130 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—The relation of direct control between the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP] and the government no longer exists, but no new form of cooperation has emerged, said Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, at the "political weekend" Friday meeting of the Somogy county party members at Fonyodliget.

Mr Horn referred to the increasingly difficult position of the government, left to itself because of the unsettled internal relations of the party. While unprecedented changes have been initiated by the HSWP in the past 18 months for the remodelling of the political and power structure of Hungarian society, the membership of the party, including its top leadership, is divided about the pace and extent of the reform process.

The often contradictory speeches also reveal that some people are unable or do not want to comprehend that it is in the interests of the country to accomplish the fundamental reforms, and break away from the Communist orthodoxy, the Stalinist model. The HSWP cannot carry on with the internal arguments, wasting its time and energy, because it is losing members, and political

influence. Only the strengthening of the reform wing can offer a realistic alternative programme to solve the country's present crisis.

Besides speaking about the debt burden and internal problems, Mr Horn also mentioned the mounting burdens Hungary has to face owing to the "spiraling" of the problems of the socialist world. This is also manifested in the imbalanced state of the country's economic ties, and the arrival of an increasing number of refugees.

While trying to handle all these world phenomena, the government is elaborating a new programme to provide hope for an early solving of the crisis, without further burdening the country's population.

Pozsgay Addresses People's Front Acting Presidium

*LD0509215489 Budapest MTI in English
1945 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—A peaceful transition is inconceivable without the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP], however, this transition can only be brought about with a party whose organization and manifesto are overhauled, said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium, on Tuesday, at the session of the acting Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front.

With respect to the future of the People's Front, Mr Pozsgay said that it could be a comprehensive, coordinating movement of initiatives made by citizens, and could possibly set up a party from among its own lines to win parliamentary representation.

Discussing the political coordination talks, Mr Pozsgay said:

"Although the tone of the negotiations has become somewhat stronger in the past few days, the readiness for compromise exists on all three sides".

Several members of the acting Presidium of the People's Front complained that the HSWP intends to form an alliance with its political rivals, while it turns its back on its true allies. The Patriotic People's Front and the HSWP could at least make gestures to one another that have a message value in this crisis situation, said one of the contributors to the debate.

Democratic Forum Official on Foreign Contacts

*AU0609124489 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 2 Sep 89 p 4*

[Interview with Rudolf Joo, coordinator of the Department of International Relations of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Ivan Ersek: "How Does the Hungarian Democratic Forum Build Up Foreign Contacts—Social Diplomats in Wooden Houses"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] One need not be an expert to guess that the creation and fostering of foreign contacts is a considerably money- and time-consuming activity. How does a

new political movement begin building such foreign contacts, a movement that, financially, cannot rely on anything else but the modest contribution of its members and sympathizers? We asked Rudolf Joo about this and whether he carries out this activity on a voluntary basis?

[Ersek] An outsider might think that, given its lack of funds, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is seeking foreign partners primarily in order to increase the financial resources indispensable for its activity. Is this indeed the case? Has your organization already received tangible support through its foreign contacts?

[Joo] Our poverty is a fact, and, as is well-known, for reasons of principle, our Presidium did not ask for money from the 50 million forint fund set up by the government for the new parties; therefore, our movement continues to finance itself from the contribution of its members, even after the appearance of the aforementioned government fund. However, money has never been the issue in creating our international relations. We are seeking primarily moral and political support from foreign organizations that have similar concepts to ours. [passage omitted]

[Ersek] Where can the Democratic Forum find its ideological friends? To what extent is your activity of seeking foreign partners deliberate?

[Joo] Even before our formal establishment, in the period of our semi-illegal activity, we mostly "tolerated" the foreign interest toward us. Because of thousands of more urgent tasks, we had little energy left for independent initiatives. The situation has slightly changed. As we see it, primarily the political forces gathered in the European People's Party and in the European Democratic Union are close to us in their concept. [passage omitted]

[Ersek] A considerable proportion of Hungarians abroad are living in so-called socialist countries. Therefore, the Hungarian Democratic Forum should firmly endeavor to build up contacts with them.

[Joo] The overwhelming majority of foreign Hungarians who are members of our movement come from Western countries. We can only hope that the obstacles hindering the Hungarians living in the neighboring countries in officially joining our movement will also disappear once. Besides, you are also aware that, in this area, it is not so easy to make and foster contacts with mostly illegal organizations that function outside the government. Nevertheless, the Polish Solidarity, primarily its Citizens Committee, are increasingly becoming our partners. We also had visits from representatives of the Latvian People's Front who also invited the Hungarian Democratic Forum to two of their meetings. In Yugoslavia, for now, we can only speak about personal contacts with Slovenian and Croatian organizations. However, we already had a joint action with the Democratic Initiatives of CSSR—a movement that operates illegally and is mostly made up of intellectuals—in Esztergom, in October

1988, in connection with the protest action against the Bos-Nagymaros river barrage. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum Sets Forth Stand on Elections

*LD0509220689 Budapest MTI in English
1951 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum wishes to put up candidates in all individual constituencies at the next parliamentary elections, and holds coalition cooperation with other parties possible only in the second round, it was announced at a press conference held by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) on Tuesday [5 September]

Dr Gyula Marx, MDF candidate for the parliamentary by-elections in Zala County, met journalists at the press conference. The MDF candidate is also supported by the local organizations of the alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ).

Two positions of the MDF Presidium were set forth at the press conference. One of these protests against certain efforts that try to transform state property into their own property under the veil of creating new forms of organization. The MDF Presidium therefore demands that the government suspend the alienation of state property, or make public the details of sales and transformations. It also moves to set up a social committee with the involvement of decisions that concern all forms of state property.

The other position protests against the planned opening of a political trial against four Slovak intellectuals in Bratislava.

Nyers Addresses Political College Opening

*LD0409200989 Budapest MTI in English
1830 GMT 4 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—The political college will continue its activity until the training of politologists is taken over by state higher education, Pal Romany, rector of the political college, said on Monday at a ceremony to open the college's new academic year. All announcements or statements that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] will discontinue the college are not right. At the same time, the intention is for political sciences not to be dealt with under any party's authority, but that training be carried out on a wider basis.

The opening ceremony was addressed by Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP. He mainly discussed the importance of political sciences as a synthetic science, also noting the role of the science in the perfection of Hungarian democracy and in Hungary's catching up with Europe.

Miners TU Issues Appeal to Hungarian Government

AU0409161589

[Editorial report] Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 31 August on page 5 carries a 1,000-word appeal signed by the Central Leadership of the Miners' Trade Union and addressed to the Hungarian Government, under the headline: "The Appeal of the Mining Industry Workers' Trade Union to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic."

After describing the difficult economic, technical, and financial conditions of the mining industry and the miners' protest against "the discriminatory economic policy aimed against the mining industry," the document presents the demands of the miners' trade union summed up in 11 points.

Point number 1 deals with the need to "create new jobs and provide training and re-training of former mining personnel" before closing unprofitable mines.

Point number 2 deals with the unemployment resulting from restructuring and demands "the introduction of a system of severance pay" to provide guarantees against "lasting unemployment."

Point number 3 demands the continuation of "government-level social-policy allowances and benefits" given to miners in order to "facilitate the manpower mobility."

Point number 4 deals with the income tax issue and demands that all the special benefits received by the miners "should be regarded as funds exempt from income tax deductions."

Point number 5 demands wage increases, so that "the wages should better reflect the expenses connected with manpower retraining."

Point number 6 demands budget guarantees "to ease the miners' burdens."

Point number 7 demands greater use of domestic energy resources because "the available natural and manpower resources make this possible."

Point number 8 demands "the assertion of the principles of equal chances and neutral competition also in the mining and energy industries."

Point number 9 deals with the need to draw up new producer prices "to better reflect the expenses."

Point number 10 demands the settling of the prevailing shortage of development funds as early as this year.

Point number 11 demands that "investment projects should be exempt of the value added tax."

The deadline for "precise, efficient, and correct answers" is set for 25-26 November 1989, the date of the miners' trade union congress.

National Bank Issues Schilling Bond in AustriaAU0509201289 Vienna DER STANDARD
in German 5 Sep 89 p 13

["jost" report: "Hungarian National Bank Issues Second Bond of CEMA Country in Vienna"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—One week after the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank, which was the first foreign, non-supranational debtor to issue a schilling bond, the Hungarian National Bank is now also issuing a bond on the Austrian capital market. Under the lead management of Laenderbank bank, it is issuing a bond with a nominal value of 1 billion schillings with a maturation of 7 years and a coupon of 8.25 percent. The issuing price is 100 percent. The subscription period lasts until 9 September. [passage omitted]

Nyers Reports on Market Economy ProposalsLD0409123789 Budapest MTI in English
1123 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—The Economic Reform Committee of the government is to prepare a proposal on setting up a market economy based on mixed ownership. The draft of the proposal is expected to be ready in September to be submitted to social debate. Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Economic Reform Committee, said at a press briefing held in parliament on Monday morning.

He also reported that this proposal was not to be regarded as a party position, but as the work of experts coming before party policy. People with differing party affiliation are taking part in the drafting of the document in an expert's capacity. Mr Nyers maintains that every sphere of society should take part in the debate on the proposal on the basis of social partnership. The Economic Reform Committee wishes to put forward the proposal to the government following the social debate.

The specific studies prepared by the experts are soon to be published. Two such studies have been prepared up to now: One deals with the tasks of opening towards world economy, the other with the course to be taken in order to introduce market economy in Hungary. They have been published by the economics and law press.

Research Institute Gives Economic ForecastLD3108134289 Budapest MTI in English
1017 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31, 1989 (MTI-ECONES)—A recent survey suggests that a destabilisation of the Hungarian economy is not on the cards for this year, but remains a long-term danger. The report, by the Economic Research Institute, part of the Hungarian Central office of Statistics, appeared in the economic weekly, 'FIGYELO'.

According to the report the improvement in world market conditions influencing the country's external balance over the last year and a half is unlikely to continue, allowing Hungary's traditional problems of an inefficient structural base to come back to the fore.

In the first half of the year, net salaries paid to white and blue collar workers and members of cooperatives grew by 16.3 percent, while total incomes rose by 19.6 percent, resulting in a 1 percent average increase over and above inflation.

Productivity, however, is falling behind wage increases, the survey went on, but the pace of the wage rises should slow down during the rest of the year as companies face increasing liquidity problems.

The consumer price index will be around 17-19 percent for the whole of the year, as against the 12-15 percent planned by the government at the end of last year.

Retail trade output will increase by 1-1.5 percent.

Demand for investment goods is generally slack. The 260 billion forints (4.3 billion USD) worth of investments at current prices, excluding private investments, should exceed last year's figure but fall short of government forecasts.

According to economic research institute the much-needed structural changes are not in evidence. The majority of companies are still drawing on government funds, especially those producing basic materials and those exporting to rouble markets, or stumbling along without any proper management. There are still too few new, more efficient companies, although their number is. The 450 limited companies operating on January 1st had grown to 2,328 by June while the number of PLC's [public limited companies] had grown from 116 to 210.

Non-rouble industrial exports will rise by 7-9 percent this year, somewhat more than expected, the biggest rises coming in basic materials for the iron, aluminium and chemical industries. This reflects little change in the pattern of Hungarian exports.

The upward trend in world market prices for basic material prices is expected to slow or even stop altogether later in the year, the report said.

Exports of telecommunications equipment and vacuum technology will rise while there will be a drop in exports of manufactured consumer goods (shoes, textiles etc).

Total non-rouble export will end the year at 6 billion USD [U.S. dollars] 8 percent more in volume than last year. Non-rouble imports will increase by the same amount, probably reaching 5.5 billion USD.

The survey suggests that state subsidies, higher rouble prices for goods with Western components, and current rouble-forint rate of exchange are encouraging Hungarian companies to over-export.

However, new government measures, including a revaluation of the forint from September 1st, should help reduce the Hungarian rouble trade surplus from the current 500 million to 200-300 million roubles for the whole of the year.

A deficit of between 900,000 and a billion USD is expected in the convertible current account and a 600-700 million rouble surplus is likely in the rouble current account.

Industrial production volume will be down 1 percent on last year. Producers' prices will increase by 12-14 percent, 4-5 percent more than planned by the government.

Companies dealing in basic materials and energy will see higher profits, while profits in the manufacturing industry will fall, in direct conflict with the government's structural policy.

These trends suggest that the Hungarian economy is once again reaching a crucial stage, the institute concluded. Deep-lying structural problems must be tackled quickly with further reforms.

New Foreign Currency Regulations Announced

*AU0409150289 Budapest MTI in English
1403 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, 31 Aug (MTI)—In a bid to stop the convertible currency owned by Hungarian citizens from streaming abroad, the Hungarian financial authorities intend to combine and simplify the different currency accounts that Hungarian citizens can hold as of September 18.

So far, Hungarians have only been allowed to place foreign money in banks if the legal origin of the sums could be proved, i.e., legal foreign incomes or travel allowances sent by Western citizens. The new feature is that, although from September 18 on, procuring Western currency from the black market will continue to be a criminal offence, the placement of such money with a bank will be totally within the law.

The commercial banks that will handle the accounts promise to pay interest rates corresponding to international money-market rates. Hard-currency account-holders can ask to remain anonymous.

The commercial banks are allowed to lend out the money they collect in deposits to finance the exports of companies.

Holders are free to draw any sum they wish from their hard-currency accounts, can take it out of the country, or use it to buy goods in Hungary's hard-currency shop network which currently has 300 outlets.

In order to avoid the development of a dual currency system and safeguard the value of the forint, the rules of acquisition of hard currency remain unchanged, it is just that the banks will not investigate the origin of the

money deposited with them. The hard-currency accounts will be treated as confidential and the state will guarantee the repayment of deposits.

Simultaneously with this move, stiffer customs regulations will be introduced in some areas. From September 1, no merchandise imported by private individuals with the express aim of re-sale will be eligible for any kind of

duty reduction. The previous practice was that such goods could be imported duty-free up to a value of 5,000 forints per head per entry. Hungarians are estimated to have imported 200 million forints (3.3 million USD) worth of electronic articles and components so far this year in this way. From September 1, the duty on such articles will be 45 percent.

Wiatr Returns From FRG, Reports on Visit

LD0509204189 Warsaw PAP in English
1935 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary Slawomir Wiatr today returned from a visit to the FRG. This is what he said about the visit and its results:

"I stayed in the FRG from September 1-5 at the invitation of the land premier of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes Rau.

"The talks with the SPD concerned the relations between the parties. Our partners were interested in the transformations taking place in our country, particularly what was taking place in the party and its stance towards the systemic changes. The SPD officials expressed understanding for what we are doing, for the stance of the party towards these changes as well as its stance on the coalition government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the support which we want to lend this government.

"The talks at the Chancellor's Office concerned all of Polish-FRG relations, including the matter of the visit of Chancellor Kohl to Poland. We were of the opinion that there are chances for a real breakthrough in mutual relations. The visit of the FRG chancellor, were it to take place this year, could constitute an important element of this breakthrough.

We also spoke about the premises of economic assistance for Poland. I acquainted Minister Seiters with the PUWP's stand on the creation of the new government and it was welcomed. My interlocutor expressed a hope that this government would create stable political premises for economic reforms which determine economic, credit or capital aid for Poland," the CC secretary stated. [quotation marks as received]

Walesa Holds News Conference Before FRG Visit

AU0709103689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Poland Is Different Today—Walesa News Conference"]

[Text] Gdansk—Lech Walesa met with Polish and foreign journalists in Gdansk on 4 September, on the eve of his visit to the FRG. Presenting his hopes and expectations connected with the visit, the "Solidarity" leader emphasized that the FRG is one of Poland's chief partners in the West, and is Poland's closest partner. Therefore help from this country in the form of broad economic cooperation would be particularly valuable. "Poland is aiming toward European unity," said L. Walesa. "This unity should permit an economic leveling-out. We want a single Europe on the basis of partnership, without serfdom." He also expressed hope that cooperation with the German Trade Union Federation [DGB], with whose representatives he is due to hold talks, would expand and consolidate.

Asked about a possible visit to Moscow, L. Walesa replied that although he, as an admirer of Gorbachev, would very much like to meet him, the present situation in Poland and the Soviet Union poses no special political need to do so. "I think this meeting will come about when the situation is completely stable," he said.

Walesa hoped that, as the economic situation in the country grows more stable, "Solidarity" will be able to turn to purely trade union activity. "The ultimate signal for this will be the implementation of the Political Parties Act. This will organize society into parties, and we will be left with the trade union sphere." The "Solidarity" chairman pointed out the somewhat anachronistic nature of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which used to be a political current of "Solidarity," and whose activity until now involved a confrontational struggle for political liberty. "Such a program and path of action is no longer valid," he said. "Poland is different today, and the most important thing is to establish programs that lead to the future."

Asked what he thought of Premier T. Mazowiecki's initial talks with the Polish United Workers Party leadership about forming the new government, L. Walesa answered: "I see one Poland—not a Poland of party affiliations, nor a divided Poland, but a Poland that is self-reforming. Under these circumstances, the Polish Government is to composed of reformers, no matter what party membership cards they hold. I will tell Mr Rakowski and Mr Orzechowski that they should think about Poland and reform, not about the seats to which they are entitled. More than 90 percent of party members are ready for reform. They are patriots. They should be elected not because they are entitled to seats, but on the basis of the reforms and their personal capabilities. If that principle is applied, I am in favor," Walesa said.

L. Walesa also shared his personal feelings about being able to attend the World War II 50th anniversary celebrations at Westerplatte together with state dignitaries. "I did not feel politically or morally qualified to be among such a body of people and receive such an honor. However, T. Mazowiecki personally asked me to go. Even if I receive nothing else in my life, I consider it a supreme reward to have been among the first people to pay homage to this great anniversary on that great day."

Walesa Invites Kohl, Von Weizsaecker to Poland

LD0609211189 Hamburg DPA in German
2033 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Even before his visit to Bonn, Walesa invited Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker to pay a visit to Poland soon. In a news program on ARD [German Television] Walesa said this evening: "I would like to invite the federal chancellor to Gdansk so that he can see for himself what we need; he should take part in the historic changes. We cannot of course force anyone,

they must come to their own conclusions. I hope that we will see the federal chancellor and federal president in Poland soon."

Walesa described as a "rumor" the suggestion that his country wants a loan of DM20 billion from the West. The point is not credits and loans, but cooperation. In Poland the German economy can earn more than elsewhere, especially in the foodstuffs and hotel sector.

Walesa Interviewed on Property Changes

*AU0509082489 Paris AFP in English
0754 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Excerpts] Mulhouse, France, Sept 5 (AFP)—Poland needs changes to its property laws more than it needs credits from the West, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said in an interview published here Tuesday.

Mr Walesa told the daily L'ALSACE: "The Communists have shown that if credits are badly administered, they can have unfortunate results. In our country, 95 per cent of property belongs to the State ... we must take back from the State at least 80 per cent of the land, the factories and the houses it possesses."

The interview appeared as he was about to begin a three-day visit to West Germany at the invitation of the DGB, the confederation embracing all the country's trade unions. Mr Walesa, who was scheduled to arrive in Dusseldorf on Tuesday, is due to meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher later in the week.

Commenting on the election last month by the Polish Parliament of Solidarity activist Tadeusz Mazowiecki as the country's first non-communist prime minister for more than 40 years, Mr Walesa said: "The West must act immediately. We have no more than six to 12 months if our revolution is not to fail." While he was "satisfied with the encouragements" from the West, he said he had seen "mostly words". [passage omitted]

In his interview with L'ALSACE, Mr Walesa again said he hoped to retire once Poland was free. "I am not joking when I say that I do not like politics", he said. "I do not see myself as president, prime minister or as minister. I want to remain free."

Jaruzelski Message to Nonaligned Conference

*AU0609103489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Sep 89 p 1*

[Message to J. E. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement, from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] To J. E. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement, in Belgrade.

Mr Chairman,

I wish to convey cordial greetings and sincere wishes for successful and fruitful deliberations to the participants in the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement.

The Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement is taking place in a new and highly promising international climate. As we stand on the threshold of the 21st Century, there is a growing feeling of joint responsibility for the future of the world on the part of all states and peoples. Processes that may have enormous historical consequences are underway. New thinking is gaining in strength. The principles of peaceful coexistence are obtaining increasingly wider recognition. Regional conflicts are being gradually extinguished, and progress is being achieved in disarmament negotiations.

The nonaligned states have a significant role in this respect. The defense of universal values and rising above parochial and bloc interests bear a special significance today, as we honor the memory of the millions of victims of Nazi genocide on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Poland has always held the principles, goals, and activities of the nonaligned movement states in high esteem. They are close to the principles that our country is guided by in its conduct of foreign policy. Today, we will cooperate even more closely in the realization of the noble ideals of the nonaligned movement in striving to achieve lasting peace and to establish a new political and economic order in the world that is based on the principle that the interests of all states are equal.

Permit me, Mr Chairman, to express the belief that the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Movement will promote the welfare of the nations represented at the meeting in Belgrade.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

Foreign Minister Statement on Nonaligned Summit

*LD0609044989 Warsaw PAP in English
2340 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—After his return from the 9th summit of non-aligned states in Belgrade, Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski made the following statement for PAP:

"My visit to Belgrade was connected with the granting to Poland by the 9th conference of heads of non-aligned states and governments the status of a guest within this movement. We were interested in that because—while remaining a Warsaw Treaty member—we would like to manifest our will to overcome artificial bloc divisions and look at the world as a unity facing numerous common challenges.

"The main assumptions and goals of the non-aligned movement are close to our thinking about the world. We come out in favour of an active approach towards the issues of preserving peace, respecting the international law, justice in international economic relations and settling the debt problems. We want at the same time to have the existing military blocs dissolved. We are advocates of giving priority to all-human interests over particular ones and of seeking rational, compromise solutions to the emerging international problems and conflicts. The Non-Aligned Movement is an important platform of implementing the new thinking which has already brought about favourable effects for the situation in the world.

"We cooperate with non-aligned states within the U.N. and other international organizations. We are developing mutually beneficial cooperation, including the one in economy, with the majority of them.

"I used my short stay in Belgrade to hold meetings with foreign ministers of many countries. The talks were fruitful. The interlocutors showed big interest in Polish political transformations and those towards market economy. They stressed the importance of those changes for breaking old models of thinking also in international relations.

"I would like the status of a guest given to Poland to be followed by more dynamic economic relations, particularly with this important part of the international community which embraces the non-aligned countries."

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Receive Peru's President

LD0609193289 Warsaw PAP in English
1830 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Peru's President Alan Garcia Perez paid a several-hour working visit to Poland today at the invitation of Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

President Alan Garcia Perez held talks with President Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The sides reviewed bilateral relations and briefed each other on the situation in Europe and Latin America, as well as the internal situation in both countries.

Much attention was devoted to discussing ways and measures aimed at expanding bilateral relations. A conviction was expressed that the state and scope of economic cooperation and trade did not correspond to the possibilities of both sides. The sides stressed that not all possibilities have been used to expand cooperation in the field of mining, power and fishery.

Poland expressed respect for the activity of Peru on the international arena, particularly for its activities within the framework of the support group and the "Group of 8" for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Latin America and search for a common platform of Latin

American countries for solving the key political, economic and cultural problems of the sub-continent.

President Garcia Perez backed the Polish peace initiatives, including the plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe.

At the seat of the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland, President Alan Garcia Perez met with Deputy General Secretary of the Episcopate, Archbishop Jerzy Dabrowski.

Rakowski, Orzechowski Comment on Mazowiecki

AU0609143789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
4 Sep 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Tadeusz Mazowiecki Meets Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Marian Orzechowski"]

[Text] On 2 August, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers met with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club. Also present was Jacek Ambroziak, under secretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

After their meeting with the premier, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Marian Orzechowski had this to say to the waiting reporters.

Question: In your interview for PAP you did not want to discuss PZPR's participation in the government before hearing Tadeusz Mazowiecki's concepts. Today, such a meeting did take place and, thus, can you now let us know your position in this matter?

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: I have revised my position. Today, in the discussion Premier Mazowiecki informed us of his conception—a conception that in my mind is realistic, and which is acceptable to our party. The talks were constructive, and touched on specific ministerial portfolios, although not everything has been finalized yet.

Marian Orzechowski: I would like to add that we found today's talks satisfactory, because they acknowledge our argument that the participation of the PZPR in government must be appropriate to our party's political potential—a participation which is acceptable to our political party base. All other things are still to be the subject of discussions, which will be quite heated, I think.

Question: From what you have said it appears that the PZPR may have been offered more than two ministerial portfolios in the government led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki?

M. F. Rakowski: Correct, but I am unable to give further details, because, as you have heard from the chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, these are still the subject of detailed talks. I want to stress that at this stage it would be tactless and inappropriate if we were to talk here in detailed terms. These will be decided when we know the

full extent of the PZPR's participation in the government. I would just add that the premier is a good talker. This is the second time I have met him and I consider him to be a realist—he looks realistically at the situation in Poland, as well as the process of forming a government.

M. Orzechowski: I second that. This has also been the second time I have met the premier. I can only add that the membership, the joint responsibility, and the participation of our party in government will be reflected in all the fundamental spheres of our national life.

M. F. Rakowski: I would add one more thing. If our dialogue is to be continued, as of course it will, and we are allowed a place that reflects our political force in the country and in the life of our society, and we secure those portfolios that confirm this position, then the PZPR as a party will have to play an active part in the joint government and support all actions that aim at pulling Poland out of its economic and political crisis.

Orzechowski on Cabinet Confirmation Issues

*LD0609125889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1205 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party Parliamentary Floor Group, by correspondent Magdalena Winiarczyk; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Winiarczyk] The period of forming the new government is finally coming to an end. The deputies face an important debate. What principles of party deputies conduct is the group adopting at this difficult time?

[Orzechowski] One thing is already known, that by agreeing to participate in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, the party assumes a share of responsibility. In connection with this, at the first sitting, when Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed premier, we said that it was in the interests of the people, society, and the state for Tadeusz Mazowiecki to succeed. That is what sets the direction for the group's attitude. We shall have a positive attitude to the government program—we do not know what it is yet—whenever it is in the interests of the state and society, and in accordance with our views on how national issues should be resolved. We shall point out shortcomings, and we shall go into constructive opposition whenever the situation requires it. But first and foremost we shall seek similar, common, uniting aspects, aspects which could become the basis for constructive opposition between the group and the government, between the party and the government, and between our electorate and the government. As I said, everything will depend on the expose, which we will only learn of in a few days' time.

[Winiarczyk] Professor, one of the most important, I think, items of today's meeting unfortunately again took place behind closed doors. You were speaking, among

other things, about personnel matters, about Premier Mazowiecki's proposals regarding the party. What can you tell our listeners today?

[Orzechowski] Well, regrettably it took place behind closed doors, this follows from the fact that we should not disseminate all sorts of gossip, unverified information of which there is so much, when the borderline between unverified information, gossip, proposal, suggestion, and fact is fluid and gets eroded, and unfortunately we cannot speak with an open door when one of the partners asks for discretion and nondisclosure of certain information. I briefed the group on our talks with Premier Mazowiecki, talks held by Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee, and myself, and about my subsequent talks concerning our participation in the government. There are still unresolved issues, concerning, for instance, the foreign minister or the Radio and Television Committee, and these are very important, very key issues. Here we have not yet reached full clarity. There are still no names and if names do appear they appear as suggestions, as possible solutions. That was why all this took place behind closed doors; that was what we discussed.

Solidarity Paper on 'Menace' of Rakowski Proposal

*LD0409172689 Warsaw PAP in English
1358 GMT 4 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—The GAZETA WYBORCZA "SOLIDARNOSC" daily carried today Dawid Warszawski's commentary on the latest two interviews granted by PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski for PAP on September 1 and for the Polish TV on September 2. The commentary headlined "Ultimatum Recalled" reads in part:

"Following his meeting with Mazowiecki, Rakowski, clearly satisfied, told a TV reporter on September 2 that the premier's proposals on the PUWP participation in government 'are in line with the party's political significance'.

"Orzechowski, who accompanied him, added that the PUWP will be present 'in all spheres of public life'. Thus recalled was the threat contained in the PUWP CC [Central Committee] first secretary's interview published a few hours earlier that if its claims are not met, the PUWP is going to maintain only the ministries of defence and of interior and to move to the 'constructive opposition'.

"The crisis was averted. Success? At the first glimpse—no. It is just the PUWP's role played up till now in 'all spheres of public life' that lies at the bottom of the civilizational collapse that Poland is experiencing and from which Mazowiecki's government is to pull the country out.

"Adherents of the PUWP's complete dismissal from power would think that a kind of 'abdication', that

Rakowski threatened, would only reveal isolation of his party and its political decline. 38 percent of seats in the Sejm is too few for the opposition PUWP to efficiently block the policy of coalition government of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Would it not be better thus to reveal Rakowski's bluff and simply to get rid of such an inconvenient candidate to power sharing?

"Well, no. The above reasoning looks well on paper, but it does not take into account the fact that Poland is not a parliamentary democracy yet. Loyalty of the structures of authority to a new government is in itself problematic, and in case of 'war' with the PUWP it would have to turn into open hostility. Moreover, the UPP and DP had enough courage to break coalition with the 'old brother', but I doubt it if they want to stage its funeral. If the event proved successful they would be the next on the list.

"Not without reason Rakowski noticed that the opposition's task towards Mazowiecki's government would be easy. Social costs of pulling Poland out of crisis will not be much lesser than the costs of crisis itself and it would not be difficult to play on social moods here.

"In his interview Rakowski made to the hitherto opposition an offer of 'alliance' based on the PUWP's admittance that 'for years they (that is opposition) were considerably right on many points.' Certainly, everything depends on which points and on how many of them the PUWP is willing to declare us right and what conclusion it wants to draw from that. Let us remember that two million Poles still belong to the party.

"We must follow closely the future of that declaration and of the announcements (but how many times made before) of the fundamental reform of the PUWP itself. The first conclusions, however, do not make us optimistic. In the same interview Rakowski hinted that the communists' control over the Ministries of Defence and of Interior is indispensable for 'guaranteeing of Poland's durability and integrity'. It seems that the menace contained in that statement is no longer maintained even by Moscow," the GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote.

Mazowiecki on Forming New Government

LD0309121889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1100 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Changing Poland together—under this title, the TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC [SOLIDARNOSC WEEKLY] publishes an interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Here is an excerpt from the premier's statement:

It is my intention that this new coalition should be lasting. The important thing is not only to create the government, but also to be able to operate according to the new principles. The issue is one of putting the country onto the road of normality.

A change in the system has taken place in Poland. The parties hitherto passing from satellites—the United

Peasant Party [ZSL] and Democratic Party [SD]—have switched partners in the coalition. This occurs often in democratic systems, but is unusual in ours. A parliamentary majority capable of creating a government has arisen. At the same time, we must avoid a situation in which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] goes into opposition while at the same time, because of the geopolitical and cadre situation, it retains two ministries, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There is no opposition in the world which controls the police and the army.

All reformist forces must be given an opportunity to participate in the process of democratic transformation of the state. Geopolitical arguments also favor the acceptance of a wide coalition, with the participation of the PZPR.

It is desirable that our neighbors have no doubts about our will to respect obligations stemming from the Warsaw Pact.

I also think, said the premier, that, because of our economic problems, the pushing aside of the PZPR, along with the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord], into negative positions would become a serious threat to all reforms. This would enable demagogic attacks on the government from populist positions. We must, therefore, create a joint government with a wider formula but with the preservation of this new principle that it is we who are forming the government and we who are running it.

We must pass through a period of transformation from the remnants of the totalitarian system to the democratic one. As a result, a situation will arise in which sometimes one political camp will hold power, then another. Such a situation becomes a normal thing, and will not bring about a state crisis, states Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in conversation with a journalist of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC.

PZPR Spokesman Bisztyga on New Government

LD0209151289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0645 GMT 2 Sep 89

[From "A Question to a Minister" program; reporter Magdalena Winiarczyk interview with Jan Bisztyga, spokesman for the Polish United Workers Party, PZPR, Central Committee—date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Winiarczyk] In the consultations being conducted by Premier Mazowiecki, I have missed party participation up to now. Does that mean that Premier Mazowiecki has not talked to PZPR representatives at all yet?

[Bisztyga] There have been a number of contacts at lower levels, I would say, but also unofficial contacts which defined the initial assumptions for the formation of the future government. I would like to stress that in these

contacts, in the initial discussion, we are not discussing any kind of problem concerning the number of portfolios or personnel matters. It always begins with the presentation of a certain philosophy of operation, and that is a certain basis for reflection by the sides. Probably today there will be clear presentations of plans and standpoints on the part of Premier Mazowiecki and also a response to that from the PZPR side.

[Winiarczyk] The other parties—the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party]—have outlined their desire to take part in the government in a definite number of ministerial (?posts). What will the party be entering these negotiations with?

[Biszyga] Madam, there is a great deal of confusion, above all in foreign assessments, but I am also beginning to perceive it in domestic assessments of what the PZPR's aims are. (?I want) to define these aims clearly:

Firstly, [words indistinct] we want to participate in Premier Mazowiecki's Government constructively, making the maximum contribution to the success of that government.

The second problem: Do we want to have the kind of influence in that government to be able to take responsibility for its operation? So, the formula is: as much responsibility as there is power, and this reflects that aim in practical terms.

The third problem: We are determined that monopolization of power should never happen again in Poland. We will not want to allow any concept of monopolization of that power by another force to (?gain sway) in Poland over the years.

The fourth problem: We have no intention of thinking in categories of eliminating any part whatever of that coalition from the authorities in the future, but neither will we allow ourselves to be eliminated. As I have said before, I am shocked at all those reflections which are appearing abroad. I quote what Brzezinski said a few days ago, taken from THE GUARDIAN: Poland's future depends on Solidarity's ability to remove members of the party apparatus from key economic posts and to deprive the Communists of control of the mass media. If Solidarity cannot manage to do this, there will always be the danger of a restoration of one-party government.

This kind of thinking is very dangerous, because it implies that the party intends to submit to the realities now, but in the future to return to one-party and monopolistic governments.

[Winiarczyk] You said: As much responsibility as there is power. What, then, does the party think it must be responsible for at the present time?

[Biszyga] Today, the party must be responsible for the most [words indistinct] element of the functioning of society in Poland, i.e. for its security. This applies to both internal and external security. If anarchy resulted from a threat to internal security or if there were to be

any kind of [words indistinct] a threat to the security of the reforms emerging from outside, then this would be the cancellation of all possible ideas of which the party is the carrier and which are also carried by Solidarity and (?other groups). In view of this, we are concentrating on the party's having a decisive influence in the next few years, acting for the government of Premier Mazowiecki. This was published several times, among others, in the declaration by Minister Siwicki, that the party (?should have) influence over the efficient operation of the state; and this is the minimum, the threshold, which must not be cancelled out in the current balance of power—this is the assumption we proceed from.

[Winiarczyk] So, you want to admit only to this—that the party will be trying to get the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first two do not give rise to any doubts; no side denies this. The third does give rise to doubt; there are other claimants. But in different reflections, by my journalist colleagues too, other ministries appear which the party is supposed to have an appetite for—I can mention the Ministry of Transport, maybe, communications...

[Biszyga interrupts] As regards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we put forward the formula that this is an area of state life which requires great professionalism. This is not just professionalism learned at school, but the kind taught by experience. We have expressed this through the mouth of Leszek Miller, saying that from our point of view the best candidate would be Minister Olechowski, who has all these qualifications.

[Winiarczyk] He has only one drawback: he is in the party.

[Biszyga] If we are going to call this a drawback, you see, then we immediately get into the formula I presented a moment ago and which I am afraid of: monopolistic thinking. As for the other ministries—you mentioned the Ministry of Transport and of Communications, that's one ministry. It seems to me that this is a problem which concerns a certain logic of governing by Premier Mazowiecki himself. Let him decide to what extent that ministry is linked with the whole machinery of state security, to its efficiency. I cannot go along with the expression "appetite" either. Please note, madam that today one does not have an appetite for power; one has the obligation to take it. I think that the basic criterion of who takes power is his proven qualifications. He must have proof of successes. He has to show that he has done something positive for society at some time. For me, for instance the ideal politician is Aldo Moro, who held more than 32 different posts, premier and ministerial; but you well know that in our conditions this would be called musical chairs of posts.

[Winiarczyk] Can one imagine, at this moment, a government without the participation of the PZPR, and so, the party in opposition completely?

[Biszyga] One can imagine anything. I even admit that if I close my eyes and stop thinking of the country's interests, I would even see certain positive things in this set up. It is easy to be the opposition. But let us note that in that case the party would cease to function as a party responsible to society, to the nation. We have been saying that for 40 years. In today's conditions, responsibility for the nation means taking on oneself enormous burdens—cooperation with other forces and achieving what I would call accord and consensus for the good of the whole of society. So, I would say that I cannot imagine the party in opposition in relation to those processes, particularly economic, which are facing Mazowiecki's government.

Mazowiecki Receives Orzechowski, Miller

LD0609204189 Warsaw PAP in English
1843 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today leader of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] parliamentary floor group Marian Orzechowski and Political Bureau member, PUWP Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller at a consultative meeting on the formation of the new government.

Under secretary of state in the office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak participated in the talk.

PZPR Political Bureau Discusses Government

LD0609205189 Warsaw PAP in English
1910 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee Political Bureau met here today for a debate.

The bureau acquainted itself with the state of negotiations on the forming of the government by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and PUWP's co-participation in the cabinet.

PZPR Floor Group Discusses Amendments

LD0609164689 Warsaw PAP in English
1528 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] parliamentary floor group held a meeting today. In the first part of the debates, closed to the press, chairman of the floor group Marian Orzechowski presented information about the formation of a new government.

The floor group next discussed its stand on the draft amendments to the Constitution. This is the outcome of an initiative of 15 members of the floor group who tabled a draft to the Sejm speaker calling for the removal of the entry on the leading role of the party from the Constitution, and of the subsequent motion of the whole PUWP floor group on setting up a special commission to prepare amendments to the Constitution and several

motions of the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group] citizen's floor group on amending respective norms of the Constitution.

In acknowledging the need to amend the current Constitution which hampers the development of economic and political life of the country, the members of the PUWP floor group pointed out however that hasty, fragmentary amendments could cause the Constitution to become even more inconsistent and could hamper the future process of amending the whole Constitution.

Because the draft of erasing the entry on the leading role of the party from the Constitution has already been tabled to the Sejm, the PUWP floor group decided to complement the motion by changing the wording of the entry. The motion proposes a principle of freedom to form political parties provided their goals and forms of activity are determined in line with the democratic foundations of the system, described in the Constitution. It envisages freedom of association in political parties, political pluralism and the principle of the constitutional tribunal passing judgement on the registration and possible delegation of political parties.

The deputies heard a report delivered by Deputy Janusz Szymanski who recently chaired the forum of Young Parliamentarians of Europe, the United States and Canada, on the course and results of Deputy Slawomir Wiatr's visit to the FRG.

In the afternoon, the members of the floor group, divided into 6 subject groups, met with PUWP Central Committee secretaries and heads of departments and secretariats of the Central Committee commission. The meetings, organized at the initiative of the floor group, were aimed at boosting cooperation between the PUWP and party representatives in the Sejm.

World War II 50th Anniversary Ceremonies Held

Jaruzelski Gdansk Speech

LD0509095289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2-3 September p 1

[Speech by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski at World War II anniversary ceremony in Westerplatte, Gdansk]

[Text] Ashes are laid to rest. The faithful memory of generations guards our knowledge of the past. Without it no nation can survive. Half a century after the Hitlerite attack we stand on the forward-post of the Republic. From here we look upon the road of our nation's struggle and suffering. We bow our heads before the known and the unknown graves of our compatriots who gave their lives for the freedom, the sovereignty, and the honor of our homeland. May your shadows rest in peace. May your deeds be glorified.

Those were inhuman days. Pacts and treaties were signed and broken in those days. The fate of nations was

speculated with as if they were objects at a street-market. Poland was encircled. The sentence of death was passed. These calculations, however, turned out to be wrong. Those who relied on their firepower, their armored columns, their air and naval flotillas, were never capable of understanding that the Poles have their own secret weapon—their national anthem—whose words we have been listening to for the last 200 years as if to a sworn promise: Poland has not perished while we are alive.

We gave in before a crushing supremacy, but it is with pride that we look the world in the eye. When the fate of mankind was being decided the Europe of the collaborators had no offers from Poland. The conscience of our nation is not weighed down by treason, cowardice, or pusillanimity. The Polish soldier fought longest—in his own country and on all fronts. He gave innumerable proofs of self-sacrifice and courage. Poland, in this war, was the first country to be conquered by armed force; it finished the war among the victors. A nation, biologically and materially devastated, deported and condemned to roam, displaced and persecuted only because it dared to be a nation thwarted the plans to erase its country from the map of the continent.

We were a strong link in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. In Berlin, over the ruins of the Hitlerite capital, there were only two allied flags: one with the hammer and sickle, the other white and red, the same flag which today flies over the Wawel Castle [in Krakow], over the Royal Castle in Warsaw, and the Artus Mansion in Gdansk, over the Odra and the Narwia, in Opole, Przemyśl, and Szczecin.

Heroes of September, defenders of Hel, Modlin, and Warsaw, soldiers of that war, resistance fighters, partisans and insurgents, prisoners of offlags, stalags, and gulags, your blood, suffering, and exile have not been in vain! For the first time since time began the Poles won lasting peace. We have raised the homeland from ashes and ruins. A great civilizational and cultural advance has taken place. Successive generations born, raised, and educated in postwar Poland are growing up. We have an independent and sovereign state. Through our own efforts and firm alliances we ensure for ourselves the right to live within secure borders, this time not with a corridor but with wide access to the Baltic. Mindful of this duty, stand firmly on guard of your own home, Polish soldiers and sailors!

The fruits of victory are not a gift given once and for all. Peace can also be lost or squandered. On this day of great national memories we are looking not only into the past but also into the future, equally the immediate future and that which today is still remote. Never again we should be weak, at odds and alone.

The Poland of tomorrow has to be stronger than today, through its economic potential, but above all through its common effort, accord, and national reconciliation. Once again we face a great historic opportunity. Will we

be able to overcome prejudices and resentments, concentrate the whole national energy, quicken our pace? Yes, we can! May this, here in this place of glory, sound like a pledge.

Poland passed through its hardest war trial with dignity. Consequently we have a moral right on this special day to address all peoples and governments of Europe. We want to have friends everywhere, equally close by and far away. No more war! Let us consolidate peace, build a common home! That is our appeal, that is our will to carry out the bequest of those who have not lived to see a free homeland.

Peace to the memory of the fallen! Long live Poland! [applause]

[Crowd responds] Long live Poland!

Jaruzelski Receives Veterans

LD0409200289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has received representatives of the General Council of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, headed by its president, Arialdo Banfi. On the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, the federation is holding its ceremonious session in Warsaw.

Among other things, the president said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Comrades-in-Arms!

I wish to express my sincere joy at the opportunity of today's meeting. I believe that it is important and significant that the ceremonies of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II—the attack of Hitlerite Germany on Poland—should, in a way, end today with this very meeting, a meeting with people who have rendered very significant services in the fight against fascism and who, today, work actively in the International Veterans' Movement for the lasting memory of those tragic years in order to insure that never again should there be war, never again manslaughter, never again hate.

During these anniversary days, people have said many wise, noble, and touching words. It is a well-known fact that words do not win wars, but with words one can play one's part in strengthening peace. Those were the very words, that was the very atmosphere, and above all, the moral authority of the societies you represent, which allows one to believe that these words will reach the hearts and minds of many millions of people, that they will be the confirmation of the right, needs, and effectiveness, of the fight for peace. [applause] [end recording]

On behalf of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, its president, Arialdo Banfi, gave thanks for the hearty welcome they were given in Poland. He also spoke

of the emotions felt by the veterans when they visited the rebuilt city of Warsaw. He expressed his hope and conviction the Europe would become the continent of all Europeans, a continent without frontiers.

Kohl, Others on Invasion

*LD0109212389 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[By PAP Correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn Sept 1—During a gala session of the Bundestag here, Kohl made a statement on behalf of the government in connection with the 50th anniversary of WW II's outbreak in which he several times pointed out to particular responsibility of Germans for "that what happened." "At the will of the criminal regime this war became ruthless, racial and destructive and reached an unprecedented size" and aside Jews, Poles became its innocent victims.

Kohl stated that "something horrible was done to the Polish nation on behalf of Germans and with the German hands. Germans realise that the wounds of the Second World War have not healed till today. They are also fully conscious of their guilt. Unlike in the case of WW I, after 1945 there was no doubt in the FRG who bore responsibility for the war. Hitler wanted that war, he planned it and unleashed it. It is unquestionable. We have to oppose all attempts at weakening and blurring this judgement. We are bound to do so by the order of truth and political-moral decency," Kohl said.

Recalling the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, Chancellor Kohl stressed that the federal government had repeatedly stated that the treaties of 1939 had no legal force for the FRG.

The chancellor, who welcomed the recently issued joint statement by lay Catholics of Poland and the FRG including an ascertainment of the final character of the Polish western border, added: "We will further stick to the letter and spirit of the Warsaw Treaty of 1970."

The chancellor once again stressed that he had no intention to hold a discussion on the borders. He also used the occasion to "extend from this tribune our best wishes to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki for his difficult road. We wish that he scored a success and we want to support him accordingly with our capabilities," Kohl concludes.

In his address pleading the Hitlerite Germany exclusively guilty of unleashing the war and Poles' sufferings, Willy Brandt also extensively argued with the attempts in the FRG to question the final character of the Polish border.

Willy Brandt was supported by the FDP [Free Democratic Party] spokesman Otto Lambsdorf who said that "he who questions the borders which emerged as a result of the WW II, he questions peace in Europe."

Certain controversies appeared at the parliament's forum in connection with the fact that the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and Greens ascertained that the Bundestag should confirm the final character of the Polish border by a separate resolution, as if in response to the recent sharp disputes on this matter in the FRG.

The CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] and FDP floor groups referred to the idea with a reluctant attitude, saying that the risk of new border disputes should not be undertaken during this very day of the anniversary.

The Greens withdrew their motion declaring their support for the SPD's motion which read: "On the day, when 50 years ago Hitler began his invasion of Poland, the German Bundestag confirms the lasting character of Poland's western border. No German territorial claims towards Poland do exist." Out of 379 votes 162 deputies were for the motion, 200 against and the rest abstained. Next, the CDU-CSU and FDP floor group filed their own motion confirming a will of reconciliation with Poland and assuring "readiness to fulfill the spirit and letter of the 1970 Treaty" and a full approval of the governmental declaration just delivered by the chancellor. The motion was adopted with an abstention on the part of the Social Democrats.

Prayer Ceremonies Attended

*LD0209042789 Warsaw PAP in English
2335 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Sept. 1—The main religious ceremonies marking World Peace Prayer Day were held in Warsaw today, on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Today's gathering at Zamkowy Square in Warsaw—attended by over 300 church officials representing Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Shintoism, the Jewish faith, Hinduism, and Confucianism—was the highlight of the solemn ceremonies.

The guests included Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Poland's Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp delivered a speech. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Offers Kiszczak Government Role

*LD0609182389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 6 Sep 89*

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met General Czeslaw Kiszczak and proposed that he take part in the new government.

Mazowiecki Meets United Peasant Party Officials

*LD0509135189 Warsaw PAP in English
1257 GMT 5 Sep 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today, in the frame lines of consultation

meetings prior to the formation of the government, with the chairman of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party UPP Roman Malinowski and chairman of the UPP floor group Aleksander Bentkowski.

The talk was attended by Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski and undersecretary of state at the office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak.

Mazowiecki Greets Farmers at Jasna Gora

AU0609103689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "National Farmers Meeting at Jasna Gora—Letter From Premier Mazowiecki"]

[Excerpts] A national meeting of farmers, combined with a service of thanksgiving for this year's favorable harvest, took place at the Jasna Gora Monastery in Czestochowa on 3 September. [passage omitted]

A letter to the participants of the meeting from Premier T. Mazowiecki was read. The letter said: On your holiday, the harvest festival, please accept my best wishes and thanks for the toil of your hands and minds and for the fruits of your work.

The government that I am forming will see to it that rural inhabitants—workers of the soil—cease to feel second-class citizens. There is much neglect, reaching into the distant past, but we will undertake efforts to facilitate rural communities access to production resources, which make work on the land more dignified, easier, and more productive.

Education, health services, access to culture—these are matters of great importance to Polish rural areas. Thoughts about rural areas and their inhabitants must be present in the minds of employees of every government department, not just those responsible for agriculture.

This is a process that will take years, but there is something that may, should, and must change right away—the administration's attitudes toward rural clients.

Poland is at a special time right now. I trust that those assembled at Jasna Gora realize that. I count on your understanding of our country's difficult problems. We can only solve them through our joint effort. God bless!

Militiamen Resign, Cite Work Pressures

LD0309183389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Let us look at the Ministry of Internal Affairs weekly, W SLUZBIE NARODU [IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION] A special issue, No. 8, has, in fact, appeared on the newsstands. Why are they leaving? Adam Podgorski tries to answer this question, taking the example of the situation in the Czestochowa voivodship office of internal affairs. We find out from the article that in the first half of the year, 57 functionaries of the Civic Militia [MO] and of the Security Service submitted resignation requests. Almost half of them justified their departure with financial reasons, a considerable number with working conditions: the inability to go abroad, the shortage of work-free days, and so forth. Here is what Patrol Leader Marian Mastelarz, from the second MO station in Czestochowa, told the W SLUZBIE NARODU journalist: Try as I might, I cannot cope with the pressure of work. I also cannot cope with the mental burden. As a district constable, I deal with everything and am also responsible for everything, which includes matters under the management of various institutions. It is I, not the [sanitary and epidemiological station,] who enforces cleanliness in premises, shops, and bars. I accompany the bailiff; I help out with the mail, delivering summonses; and I bring people to court or to the misdemeanour court. The Housing Economy Enterprise writes to me to collect the keys to apartments of unruly lodgers, and gets offended when I do not want to do this. I answer hundreds of letters, although their authors—some bureaucrat or other, let us say, from the town hall—has the information under his nose at the Bureau of Public Records. These are trivial matters, but there are so many of them that I waste time designated for more necessary tasks. The odium for everything that is taking place in Poland also falls on militiamen. In August, I was incessantly called out to organize lines in front of shops selling alcohol. I chanced to hear that it was the MO that was responsible for the shortage of vodka, since it did not chase up alcoholics, and they buy up everything.

It transpires from information at the disposal of the personnel department that, in the forthcoming period, around 13 percent of functionaries from just one district office of internal affairs in Czestochowa intend to present their requests to (?leave) the service, writes Adam Podgorski. Do they have to leave?

SCINTEIA Discusses Party's Leading Role

AU0509135989 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 1 Sep 89 pp 1,4

[Unattributed article: "Party Leadership—Lawful Requirement of Successful Socialist Construction"]

[Text] The celebration of the 45th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, which proceeded in a high atmosphere of great patriotic and revolutionary popular upsurge, was an opportunity for drawing a detailed and enthusiastic balance sheet of Romania's brilliant achievements in the years of work and struggle since 23 August 1944, particularly in the era of profound innovating changes inaugurated by the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], which has gone down forever in our fatherland's golden historical chronicle by the name of its illustrious founder, the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

As the party secretary general emphasized in his speech to the solemn meeting devoted to that great anniversary, everything we have achieved proves in actual fact the correctness of our Communist Party policy, which has fulfilled and is honorably fulfilling the historical mission of leading the whole nation along the road of building the most just system in the world and ensuring our people's happiness, well-being, and complete independence and sovereignty.

As emphasized in the theses for the 14th RCP Congress, the entire experience of the struggle to overthrow the old system, win power, and build the new system in Romania has proved and continues to demonstrate that the existence and assertion of the leading role of the political party of the workers class—a party which is armed with a clear concept, based on the theory of scientific socialism, and with a scientific program and which represents the interests, aspirations, and will of the people—is an imperious prerequisite for the development of the revolutionary process and a law-governed requirement for the construction of socialism and communism.

The assertion of the RCP's leading role in Romanian society, the recognition of this role by the whole nation, and its sanctioning by the country's Constitution itself are the result of an objective historical process. Our party has proved its revolutionary qualities, its organizational and renewing strength, and its correct class policy in all circumstances. One can justifiably say, as party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech to the 27-28 June 1989 RCP Central Committee plenum, that "our party has fulfilled and is honorably fulfilling its historical mission as revolutionary detachment and vital center of the whole nation; our party has guided and is guiding our people along the road of building socialism and communism."

From its very founding, the RCP has asserted itself as a party of the workers class; it has ceaselessly struggled to fulfill the historical aspirations of the workers class, to

achieve social freedom and justice, and to attain the supreme ideals of the workers class and the whole nation. Setting out from the fact that the workers class has the historic mission of building the new social system, that is socialism, there is a law-governed requirement for the Communist Party to be and always remain—as the party secretary general said—a party of the workers class, the revolutionary party of the workers. The party must identify itself, as it has done to date, with the basic interests of workers, peasants, and all working people, and must unflinchingly serve the cause of socialism and communism. In this respect, a great principled and practical importance devolves on guidelines concerning the party structure and composition and the appropriate representation of workers, who are directly involved in the productive process, in various party bodies and other bodies of our workers democracy.

The continuous growth of the party's leading role in the successful construction of socialism and communism is an objective requirement that is closely linked with the exertion of such party functions as: making a profound analysis and study of the legal conditions governing social life; substantiating developing targets and organizing the activity to achieve these targets; mobilizing and pooling the efforts of the whole nation; giving incentives for the introduction of what is new and stimulating creativity; revealing and removing contradictions; encouraging revolutionary involvement in the solution of all problems raised by life; and developing a broad process of improvement in all fields.

The supreme goal of our party policy is man, his self-fulfillment, and the creation of his advanced consciousness. In this respect, the party attaches great importance to equipping its members and all the people with profound knowledge and understanding of the realities of the contemporary world; hence, it is regularly carrying out a vast ideological-educational activity, proceeding from the belief that only by preserving the vigor of the revolutionary spirit and of militant communist attitudes and by disseminating the ideals of the new society, while ensuring everybody's firm commitment to their fulfillment, can one promote an active, creative, and fruitful participation in building the new society and pool the efforts of all communists and the whole nation in fulfilling socioeconomic development plans and programs, within the framework of the ceaseless revolutionary process required for the completion of socialist construction.

In the concept of our party and its secretary general, the exertion of the party's leading role cannot be limited arbitrarily and unilaterally to just a few spheres of social activity or to some aspects of the act of political leadership. On the contrary, the exertion of party's leading role has a complex and all-encompassing character: It ensures the close and organic blending of all component parts, thus ensuring complete unity between theory and practice and between the elaboration of a general political line and the adoption of political-organizational steps for its implementation, primarily by involving party bodies

and organizations as well as the communists in the concrete activity of the most responsible sectors.

The increase in the party's leading role and in the responsibility of party bodies and organizations does not clash with the development of socialist democracy and with the exertion of prerogatives at various levels of the democratic system; on the contrary, it assists the full assertion of the latter. The dialectical blending of the party's leading role with the greater responsibility and role of state and other democratic bodies is accomplished through the action of party cadres and communists, who ensure the proper functioning and further improvement of the activity of state and revolutionary workers democracy bodies, and who have to account to the party and the democratic bodies to which they belong for the way in which they carry out their activity.

Particular importance for the fulfillment by the party of its historical mission of leading the complex work of socialist and communist construction devolves on the broad process of rethinking the place and role of the party in society and of improving organizational forms and the working style and methods, a process initiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu after the Ninth RCP Congress. In this respect, we have also overcome, with revolutionary boldness, some dogmas and narrow attitudes generated by the theory of the "single model" and by the adoption of outdated concepts, while ignoring our own revolutionary experience and the specific new circumstances. We promoted a profoundly innovating and revolutionary concept, according to which the party is a living, strong, and healthy body in a ceaseless swing of development. Thus, in the conditions of building the comprehensively developed socialist society, of deepening socialist democracy, and of strongly asserting the socialist unity and cohesion of the people, the concept according to which the party was a "vanguard detachment"—which presupposes a certain aloofness from the people and society—became inappropriate. Likewise, in the new conditions of the exertion of the party's role as leading political force in all spheres and at all levels of society, it acquires an increasingly greater mass character. Naturally, in fulfilling its role and functions, the party does not place itself outside society or above it, and does not act through directives and dispositions; by drafting and implementing its overall political line through broad consultation with the working people, the party becomes directly and concretely involved in the entire activity and implements its political line and achieves the planned development targets together with the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the people.

The construction of socialism with the people and for the people is an obvious and true reality of Socialist Romania. Generated by the entire context of historical development, the thesis on the party's role as vital center of the socialist nation—a thesis formulated by party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu with brilliant scientific profundity and boundless revolutionary ardor—sums up and puts to good use the experience gained in the process of creatively applying objective general laws to the conditions prevailing in our country.

clearly outlines the party's role in the overall social life, and defines the content of political leadership and the ways and means to exert it in all fields and spheres of activity. The main idea behind this concept is to organically integrate the party in society, so that it fulfills its duties from within society, that is, from within social-political bodies and the people themselves. The identity of action, interests, and goals between the party and the masses highlights the profoundly patriotic, social, and national character of the party, which, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, has proved through its entire activity that it represents the "vital center radiating life-giving warmth and light and the most advanced consciousness of our people."

The strong focus on the concept about the party's leading role as a law-governed requirement for the successful development of the revolutionary process, and the further enrichment of this concept with new contributions or high theoretical and practical value—such as the documents for the 14th RCP Congress and Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant speeches—are two aspects of exceptional importance both for the current stage of Romania's development and for the complex and sharp confrontation of ideas on the international plane. It is not fortuitous that, in their fierce struggle against socialism, the reactionary imperialist circles are primarily concentrating their attacks on the communist parties and their revolutionary role and nature. As highlighted by the theses for the 14th RCP Congress, the theories about a so-called reduction in the party's leading role are likely to deprive society of its most conscientious and advanced political force, which is armed with a scientific concept about world and life and which can unite and organize all forces of the nation. It is obvious that if the Communist Party does not assume responsibility for implementing its revolutionary program in society, a political vacuum would arise, which would undoubtedly be filled by other forces.

The Communist Party cannot share, let alone renounce its role as the leading political force in society without running the risk of seriously jeopardizing the cause of socialism itself and the vital interests of the people. The theses according to which the party should give up part of its duties and responsibilities or allow to be replaced by other political forces have nothing in common with the revolutionary theory of the workers class and with the principles of scientific socialism, and are in fact capitulating and liquidatorist theses, which our party rejects most resolutely.

Intensifying their attacks against communist parties, the reactionary circles in capitalist countries are currently acting, as they did in the past, under the slogan of the creation of a multiparty system, the true aim of which, however, being to liquidate the communist parties. Life clearly shows, on the basis of actual facts, that there is no other force that can play the vital role of the Communist Party.

At the same time, our party considers the theories which proclaim that the party should give up its revolutionary

character as extremely damaging. To renounce the revolutionary path at a time of the greatest and most profound social changes and revolutions ever known to mankind means to ignore the objective laws of social development themselves. The party of the workers class should preserve its revolutionary spirit in all circumstances and should act as a party of revolutionary renewal and of the promotion of all that is new, progressive, and advanced in social thinking and practice.

The concept regarding the disappearance of the Communist Party in the historical future, a concept conceived by the classics of scientific socialism, takes into account the law-governed process of the transition to the classless society and of the growth of the whole nation's ideological and political consciousness to the level of the party itself, under conditions when man's exploitation by man and the reactionary and imperialist forces have been eliminated from the world. The continuation of the revolutionary process implies that the existence of the single party of the workers class, the enhancement of its leading political role, and the broad development of its ties with the people and all bodies of the revolutionary workers democracy are an objective requirement of the socialist construction in the current stage and for a long time to come.

The passage to the superior stage of the comprehensively developed socialist society requires that we further improve and stimulate the activity of party bodies and organizations, firmly apply the principles and provisions of the party statute, implement party democracy and discipline, and further raise the level of organizational work, party control, and communist revolutionary responsibility for the entire socioeconomic and political activity. The increasingly complex tasks of socialist construction require that we further strengthen the party from a political and organizational viewpoint and that we enhance its political, ideological, and organizational unity as well as its leading political role in all fields.

The broad discussion within the party and the whole nation of the draft program-directive and theses for the 14th RCP Congress is giving a new and stimulating impetus to the fatherland's political and socioeconomic life, and also constitutes a moving example of the people's strong unity around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. This ongoing discussion highlights the fact that the working people—in their capacity as collective owners of the means of production and as producers and direct end users of everything achieved in Romania—are determined to defend and preserve the socialist order, to strengthen and develop socialist ownership, and to do everything possible to increase the national wealth, thus proving, through new and important achievements, the great superiority of socialism.

In full unity of thought and feeling, the whole party and people are expressing, with boundless love and gratitude, their full endorsement of and profound satisfaction with the decision of the June 1989 plenum of the RCP Central

Committee to propose Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election at the 14th RCP Congress to the supreme position as party secretary general—an act of profound political and patriotic significance and a historic choice, which is also a strong guarantee of the fatherland's socialist and communist present and future. In impressive unanimity, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all the people are expressing their unflinching trust that, with Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the helm, the RCP, the vital center of the whole nation, will lead the people to new and brilliant victories, thus ensuring the successful fulfillment of the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and march forward to communism.

Dascalescu, CSSR's Adamec End Official Talks

AU0609181589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1655 GMT 6 Sep 89

["Romanian-Czechoslovak Official Talks Conclude"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Official talks concluded in Bucharest, on September 6, between Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

The two heads of government expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the visit, assessing that it would open up new prospects to the multilateral development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration. The two governments' determination was reiterated to work in the future as well for the intensification of the economic, technologic, scientific and other collaboration upon mutually advantageous bases, in the interests of socialist construction in the two countries, of deepening the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two peoples.

At the close of the talks, Constantin Dascalescu and Ladislav Adamec signed the protocol of the meeting between the prime minister of the socialist Republic of Romania and the prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Adamec Assesses Talks

LD0609212789 Prague Television Service in Czech
1730 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Interview with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec by unidentified correspondent on 6 September in Bucharest—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on Adamec Program on 6 September] [Begin recording] [Correspondent] Comrade Premier, during yesterday's and today's talks with our Romanian partners, what issues did you deal with and what are the specific results, particularly in the economic field?

[Adamec] During the year I have been in the office I have held talks with practically all premiers from CEMA. I

received an invitation to visit Romania this January but unfortunately I was able to make this visit only yesterday and today. As I have been here for only 2 days we have agreed with Premier Comrade Dascalescu that our talks would be rational, practical and specific. I think we have succeeded. First, we have assessed the fulfillment of the concluded agreements and contracts for this year, and I must say that the bilateral implementation is successful and good. Many of our people might not know that the volume of supplies annually amount to over R 700 million. This is not a negligible amount. The Romanian side supplies us with agricultural products, chemical products, cars, machinery produces and so on. These are goods we are interested in and which we would find hard to buy elsewhere or we would have to buy them under more complicated conditions than we get them under in Romania.

Second, we have agreed that next week or in 2 weeks' time at the latest, we should conclude at a joint session of a mixed commission, that will hold a session in Prague, the year 1990. We have agreed that we would do our utmost to increase the volume against this year.

Third, we agreed that we should work diligently on cooperation (?plans) for 1991-1995 in order to assess them objectively, and conclude them by next year, in order to give the next 5-year plan a more specific form. This would suit both sides.

Naturally, I also spoke about the problems of tourism. Our people like Black Sea holidays. This year too, unfortunately, there are some shortcomings which I had to point out to the Romanian premier: problems at border crossings, problems at gas stations, and also with services. I think that if we want to develop this tourism further—and we are interested in this—the Romanian side must make improvements in these areas. Comrade

Dascalescu did not refuse this; on the contrary he said that they would analyze these facts and they would do their utmost to prevent to repetition of these critical comments.

These were the basic issues which we discussed. We shall sign a protocol shortly to anchor these issues and make them binding for both sides. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Czechoslovak guest was seen off at the airport by Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu.

Adamec Departs 6 Sep

AU0609180789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1657 GMT 6 Sep 89

["Czechoslovak Prime Minister Concludes Romanian Visit"—AGERPRES headline]

[Test] Ladislav Adamec, prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who paid an official visit of friendship to Romania, as guest of Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, left Bucharest on September 6 in the afternoon.

On departure at the Otopeni Airport, adorned with the two countries' state flags, the Czechoslovak prime minister was greeted by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, ministers and other officials were present.

Romania's ambassador in Prague, the Czechoslovak ambassador in Bucharest and members of the Czechoslovak embassy attended.

The state anthems of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

Bush Calls for 'United Struggle' Against Drugs

AU0609151589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush last night called on all Americans to conduct a united struggle against drugs. In his first official television address to the nation, Bush presented the basic guidelines of the national strategy in the struggle against this evil, which is the most serious problem in U.S. society.

Mujezinovic Appointed Ambassador to United States

AU0609124889 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Sep 89 p 11

[Unattributed report: Dzevad Mujezinovic Ambassador in Washington"]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug—BORBA has learned unofficially that the SFRY Presidency decided yesterday to appoint Dzevad Mujezinovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, Yugoslav ambassador to the United States. This post was vacated recently after Ambassador Zivorad Kovacevic was called back prematurely.

Mujezinovic was born in 1934 at Orasac, near Bosanski Petrovac. He is Muslim. He graduated from the Economics College and in 1959 from the Faculty of Philosophy, German Language Department. He speaks German and English. He joined the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1953. He has been working in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs since 1969. He has served in New Delhi and New York, and was ambassador to Iraq from 1984 to 1987.

Former Party President Expelled From LCY

AU0609111289 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Bosko Kronic, who was the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] not so long ago, has been expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This is the unanimous decision of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of the Stari Trg commune of Novi Sad.

Former top officials of Vojvodina, the republic, and the federation, Slavko Veselinov, Jovan Dejanovic, and Sreta Stajic, were also expelled from the League of Communists.

These measures were proposed by a working group of this communal party organization, which was of the opinion that the previously pronounced ideopolitical measures by the basic party organizations with which the former officials were linked, were too mild.

TANJUG Reports Expulsion

LD0609172789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—By a unanimous decision, members of the Municipal League of Communists [LC] Committee expelled Bosko Kronic from the League of Communists of the Stari Grad municipality today.

By the same decision, Slavko Veselinov, Jovan Dejanovic, Sreta Stajic, and Branislav Dimitrijevic were also expelled from the LCY after a working group of the municipal committee decided that the ideopolitical disciplinary measures meted out to them by their basic party organizations were too lenient.

The disciplinary measure of last warning was pronounced on Stevan Vojnovic, Milos Nikolicin, Pavle Krnetic, Todor Gajinov, Jovan Zivanovic, and Zoran Radman and of warning on Vladislav Radakovic, Marija Zvekic-Miskolci, Njari Tabor, and Josip Kubinjec. [passage omitted]

Conclusions also were accepted under which all party members who have been punished, if occupying responsible positions, should resign. If they fail to do so, the municipal committee will initiate an initiative for their dismissal.

It also was suggested that the municipal committee should ask the Vojvodina LC provincial committee to reassess the place and role of Stevan Doronjski [formerly a prominent politician, now deceased] in light of the fact that he was one of the originators of separatist-bureaucratic policy in Vojvodina. The provincial committee also will be asked to reconsider whether it is justified that its Center for Political Studies should be named after Doronjski. [passage omitted]

Zrenjanin Construction Workers Protest Inequality

AU0609210689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] About 2,000 construction workers have protested in Zrenjanin over their unequal business conditions and personal incomes, which are one third below the communal average in the first half of the year. The meeting was held at the Freedom Square and 12 demands were adopted calling for a reduction of the taxes on the economy and the adoption of measures that would ensure that the construction workers had a position equal to that of the other branches of the economy.

Unless these demands are met, the Zrenjanin construction workers threaten to call on other Vojvodina construction workers to strike.

Markovic Holds Talks With Canada's Clarke

LD0409214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, today

received Joseph Clark, Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, who handed him a message from Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney in connection with the ninth nonaligned summit.

Markovic and Clark stressed that there are considerable opportunities and mutual interest for essentially improving and widening Yugoslav-Canadian economic cooperation.

The FEC president spoke about the economic reform in Yugoslavia and the measures undertaken by the government to strengthen economic efficiency. Markovic pointed to the significance of the greater openness and participation of the Yugoslav economy in world economic trends, saying that Yugoslavia expects full support, in particular from developed countries.

In the talk, mention was also made of the initiative for opening the North-South dialogue.

Serbian Party Reform Document Reviewed

*AU0609163789 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 6*

[R. Lazarevic report: "From a Party State to a Modern Legal One"]

[Text] Led by the aspiration that Serbia be a republic of free people and ideas and that the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia ensure that every person is equal before the law regardless of their national affiliation, the Communists of Serbia are champions of a transition from a party state to a modern, democratic, and legal one.

An explanation of this key stand is the Foundations of the Democratic Reform of the League of Communists which is a document compiled by the Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia for the Transformation of the League of Communists and Statutory Issues. It is stressed that Serbian Communists are for a state that will function on the basis of the law and not on the basis of someone's political or bureaucratic will. They also support the assembly as the real proponent of supreme authority and an independent government responsible to the assembly, as well as an independent judiciary.

The Citizen as an Essential Characteristic of a Law-Governed State

According to this document, the citizen and the individual should also be a significant characteristic of the modern legal state as advocated by the Serbian Communists. On the basis of guaranteed rights and freedoms, it could control and limit state authority, which is now not the case, since citizens have been submerged in their own nations, organizations, and delegations.

Essential characteristics of a democratic legal state as envisaged by the said document include guaranteed political freedoms, economic independence, and the

security of citizens, that is to say the guarantee that their political involvement will not attract economic sanctions as well. Liberating the economy from political guardianship and strengthening the protection function of the independent trade unions is also demanded.

Finally, to judge by the document Foundations for the Democratic Reform of the League of Communists, the dominant aspect of the state advocated by the Serbian Communists should be free, secret, and direct elections for national representatives, in which respect, several candidates would be proposed for each position. It is mentioned that the basic democratic achievement and principle—one man, one vote—should "...coexist in parallel with the chamber of republics and provinces, which would guarantee national equality, and with the chamber of producers, which would also be part of the federal assembly."

Accepting political pluralism as an inevitability, according to the working version of the Foundations for the Democratic Reform of the League of Communists, the League of Communists of Serbia sees its place in constructive action and influence, so that political pluralism becomes the driving force for the way out of the crisis and not a new factor of paralysis or a new force of disintegration.

A Different Socialist Alliance

The League of Communists of Serbia is aware of the fact that political monopoly has become unbearable but also that Yugoslavism and a foundation of a socialist platform are essential characteristics of the approaching political pluralism. Renouncing its own monopoly—according to the document on its own transformation—the League of Communists of Serbia also advocates that any monopoly should be prevented. It is underscored that the upcoming constitutional reform should eliminate the privileged and constitutionally guaranteed position of the leading ideopolitical organization. This position cannot be guaranteed legally but can be gained in real life through superior ideas and actions. Likewise, cadre monopoly should be replaced by competition in cadre policy.

Along with the explanation that both the one-party system and the classic multiparty system are too rigid to be able to absorb the entire wealth of the new social movements and the initiatives of the youth, workers, women, and the intelligentsia, it is stressed in the working version of the Foundations for the Democratic Reform of the League of Communists that the broadest framework for their activity, at least at this stage of political life should be the Socialist Alliance based on a different foundation. Constituted in a different way, it would no longer be a transmission belt of the party hierarchy which would be the only brain and decision-making center. Its organs and leaderships would be set up independently. All collective factors, as well as socially oriented political active citizens, would participate in elections in the Socialist Alliance.

It is said in the aforementioned document that the practice of only one party or movement possessing the absolute truth and knowledge concerning the ways to progress cedes its position to dialogue, as a way of discovering the best solutions, it is said in the aforementioned document, with the comment that in entering into equal competition with all socialist options within the framework of the Socialist Alliance, the League of Communists will oppose in the best way all anti-socialist, anti-Yugoslav, undemocratic, nationalist, and other regressive ideas.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Referendum as a Form of Direct Decisionmaking by the People

Life reveals the truth that institutions of indirect democracy without the active and spontaneous energy of the masses and the direct participation of the people remain lifeless forms—says the document on the reform of the League of Communists. The people's entrance onto the social scene is a valuable achievement and source of new democratic potential.

We have before us the direct task of creating the kind of democratic forms which will be a bridge for "translating" the spontaneous energy of the people, their demands and initiatives expressed in direct social action (meetings, strikes, and rallies) into lasting influence on management organs, local authorities, the assemblies of the republics and provinces in considering initiatives and demands; publicly accounting for one's own work is no longer a question of one's own will but an obligation to the people and the workers class. We support wider and direct decisionmaking by the people (through referendums) on important questions of social life.

Yugoslavia Is Not an Accidental and Temporary Creation

Wishing to contribute to the development of a strong Yugoslavia, we are proceeding from the fact that it is not a temporary and accidental creation but represents the fruits of long-term historical aspirations and was created through a joint struggle of all peoples and nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Tito. A socialist Yugoslavia is an essential framework for the prosperity of each of its people and nationalities on the foundations of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. The League of Communists of Serbia supports a policy of not just equal relations, but fraternal relations between peoples and nationalities.

At the same time, Yugoslavia is in essence a pluralist society—the world in miniature—with economically different levels of development of republics and provinces and a meeting place of different cultures and religions. We will struggle for an equality which cannot be threatened by anything and—in the reality of the ever ubiquitous separatism which rests on the wrong idea about the

possibility of progress in independent national states separated by bureaucratic walls—against a separatism in which independence is turned into a passage to disintegration, it is stated in the Foundations for the Democratic Reform of the League of Communists.

Albanian 'Hostile Activity' in Kosovo

AU0509124989 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 14

[M. Antic report: "Glass in Ground Meat"]

[Text] Pristina, 24 Aug—After relative peace in July and the first part of August, there has been an increasing number of reports in recent days of disturbing excesses, recalling the recent period of disturbance in Kosovo.

At yesterday's meeting of the Gnjilane League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee, Obrad Sosic, a member of this body who is also employed as a veterinary inspector at the Gnjilane slaughterhouse, reported that sabotage had occurred in the meat and sausage production process: Glass had been found in the ingredients. Sosic said that the fact that the products were destined for the Belgrade market clearly leads to the conclusion that the incident is a case of hostile activity on the part of Albanian nationalists and separatists. All the contamination was removed in time; however, the glass could not have found its way into the meat except by design.

At this afternoon's meeting of the Gnjilane All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee, the security authorities said that all details of this case must be investigated. We are nevertheless aware that many things do not work as they should in this collective, and that differentiation is lagging behind, even though it is known that a number of people in this collective not only took part in, but organized demonstrations and stood out for unacceptable views.

As Zivojin Cucic, president of the Gnjilane LC Communal Committee, told us, hostile pamphlets were discovered yesterday at Dragi Popovic School, insulting Slobodan Milosevic and Rahman Morina in the most serious way, and calling on Albanians to fight for separatist goals, to boycott the loan for Serbia, and the like. Still further pamphlets called for the incitement of new disturbances on the threshold of the new school year. The LC Communal Committee held these pamphlets to be examples of hostile activity.

In Pec, during the night of 21-22 August, unknown persons provoked the guards in front of the Yugoslav People's Army Hall; this was also held to be a serious nationalist act and a direct attack on the Yugoslav People's Army.

Especially worrying is also the news that the Pristina communal public prosecutor has started criminal proceedings against 21-year-old Sokol Hyseni from Ajvalija,

following his sexual relations with 14-year-old J.B., a Serb from Pristina, and a pupil at the Nis school for backward children.

News has been filtering through today, following several days of rumor, that large-scale thefts have occurred in the warehouses of the Kosovo electricity industry, which initial estimates calculate to be of more than 2 billion dinars. It has been unofficially reported that seven people have been arrested and that several other people are being sought.

Reports have come from Vucitrn, stating that unknown persons are breaking into the houses of Serbs and Montenegrins, though taking nothing from them. In the last few days, the houses of Djura Jokanovic from the village of Hercegovina, Desanka Grubisic from Nedakovac, and Stojan Jovanovic from Vucitrn have been broken into. Danica Milincic, from the village of Samodreza in the same commune, has been attacked again by her next-door neighbor Semsedin Bunjaku. On the previous occasion, Semsedin's wife Sahare assaulted her with an ax.

Chroniclers of events in Kosovo consider that these reports testify to desperate attempts by aggressors from the Greater-Albanian separatist movement to counter the increasingly concrete and successful steps of subjective forces, and especially the ever more frequent stands taken by Albanians in various areas against these and similar acts of wrongdoing.

Academician Dedijer Complains About Harassment

*AU0509104589 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 p 3*

[Text of a letter sent by Academician Vladimir Dedijer to BORBA]

[Text] The Slovene public prosecutor, the well respected Mr Pavle Car, told Ljubljana NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK on 20 August this year that the Dedijer family has never demanded an investigation into the death of their son Borivoje.

We feel that it is our right to sent TANJUG a copy of the request we sent to the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office on 10 May 1986.

Our son Borivoje was killed on 13 July 1966 in Bohinje. Initially we thought it was an accident, but later the Slovene security organs, as well as one the leading people in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, showed us the death threat that had been sent to our son Borivoje 2 months before he was killed. Not wanting to open up old wounds, my wife and I decided not to do anything, although an investigation had been carried out. Eduard Kardelj told me that the investigation pointed to a Catholic writer, Jozе Javorsek. This was confirmed by the president of the Slovene government of that time, the late Stane Kavcic. This was also confirmed by a leading member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. In

his memoirs, Stane Kavcic stated that Jozе Javorsek was an agent of the Slovene intelligence service. It is the duty of every member of the Russell Tribunal to report any threats issued to its members because we have already lost five members and sympathizers. Therefore, I presented all my evidence to the Russell Tribunal. The archives of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the Slovene State Security Service contain important documents concerning the investigation into the death of our son Borivoje.

Long Persecution

The persecution of the members of my family continued. In August 1979, my only remaining son was maltreated by the militia. I complained to Comrade Vladimir Bakaric, who was the president of the SFRY Presidency Council for the Protection of Constitutionality at that time. Comrade Bakaric was also a member of the Party Presidium of the SFRY Presidency. As the president of the Council, he was in charge of controlling all intelligence services and had insight into all their operations and secret documents.

On 5 September 1979 Vladimir Bakaric replied to me with a personal letter in which he said the following: "I was informed about the tragedy of your family at the time. I was also informed, but not in much detail, about the persecution of your children in Ljubljana by some group or organization, and that everything ended in the tragic death of your son Borivoje. I know that nothing has been clarified."

I thanked Comrade Bakaric and informed him about the fact that my son Borivoje was a great supporter of the Russell Tribunal, that the emigre press was sharply attacking me for my work in the Court, that a Slovene emigre, Dr Ciril Zebot, demanded in his book "Slovenia Today and Tomorrow" that I be expelled from Slovenia, because I inspired Slovene youth to protest against the war in Vietnam and U.S. democracy. Engineer Jozе Skok condemned this kind of writing in DELO. After that an emigre paper published in the United States again issued a death threat against me and my family.

In September 1985, my wife and two of my associates were subjected to impudent attacks and a search by the Slovene Militia in Koper. They had in their possession the manuscript of the fourth part of my book "New Additions for the Biography of J.B. Tito," and two bags full of important documents. I complained to the SFRY Presidency and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and received a report drafted by the chief of the Koper militia concerning this incident.

However, despite this intervention by the top state and party organs, my son Marko, on his return from Begunje hospital (after the death of his two brothers he fell into deep depression), was maltreated by the Koper militia.

My wife and I then decided to ask the Slovene state and party authorities to continue the investigation into the

death of our son Borivoje in order to prevent the further maltreatment of our son Marko and other members of the family.

In addition to the Public Prosecutor's Office of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, we also sent the request to Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

However, these people have never deigned to send us a reply, but NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK of 20 August of 1989 cynically wrote "that there has never been a case of President Kucan being disturbed by an accident that took place in the mountains."

Strict Censorship

The Slovene political leadership is now conducting a policy of strict censorship concerning the death of our son Borivoje. We were visited by Marijana Voncina, member of the NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK editorial board. She wanted to publish all the documents concerning the death of our son, including Vladimir Bakaric's letter, back in 1986, but she was not allowed to do it. The same thing has happened again. These documents are prohibited and did not appear in NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK. Instead of this, the paper carries the Slovene party leadership's explanation and a claim that the death was an accident in the mountains.

I appeal to the public not to allow the harassment of an honest journalist who wanted the public to hear the other side's story concerning the death of his son.

Comrade Voncina also interviewed me. The interview was published in MLADINA. She also wanted to publish all the documents in this magazine. However, on this occasion the brave MLADINA had to bow to the demands of powerful political-militia circles in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It did not dare publish any documents and the interview was so heavily censored that it does not bear any resemblance to what I talked about.

Considering that the public campaign against me and my family is continuing with equal ferocity (it is worse now than in 1954 when I defended Milovan Djilas), and considering that the suspected murderer of my son is free and that he is actively participating in this shameful and dirty campaign (I am receiving threatening letters, my wife Vera and son Marko are disturbed over the telephone, they are openly asked to leave Slovenia), my wife Vera and I decided to approach Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and president of the Council for the Protection of Legality, to allow the publication of the relevant documents from the secret archives of the State Security Service and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia concerning not only the death of two of our sons, but also the persecution of my family.

Immediately after I had defended Djilas, my wife Vera was summoned to the Dedinje party where she was given

the ultimatum: Either the party, or Dedijer! On the request to divorce me, she said that I was an honest man, that I had the right to defend Djilas, and that if she had thought that I was wrong, she would have divorced me immediately despite the fact that we had five children. Since then, for a full 35 years, she has been subjected to horrific and subtle attacks, but this honest and persistent Slovene mother has said on several occasions: "Let them kill me, let them kill our beloved children and grandchildren, but you must clench your teeth and defend holy truth."

[signed] Academician Vladimir J. Dedijer

Criminal Offenses Increasingly on Rise in Croatia

AU0609173989 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Sanja Modric report: "Alarms of Hot Summer"]

[Text] One of the eternal and thus most probably indisputable facts of all sociological research that deals with the topic of crime is that the increase in the number of criminal offenses is proportional to the depth of the social and especially welfare crisis. The latest report issued by the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Croatia has once again confirmed this rule that does not seem to have any exceptions. In the almost general social cataclysm in which the largest part of Croatia's population has found itself this year, there has been an extremely sharp increase in offenses against property, while political turbulences and turmoil have aroused the evil spirit of nationalism from its state of quiescence and brought it out in the open.

Since the beginning of 1989, some 18,500 citizens of this republic have entered the muddy waters of crime by committing around 37,000 criminal offenses. These numbers do not say much unless they are related to something else. In comparison with the same period last year, out of the most numerous offenses, offenses against property, embezzlements marked a fivefold increase and robberies marked a twofold increase. Serious thefts and acts aimed against general safety of people and property increased by about 50 percent. This drastic compounding of criminal offenses is even more worrying considering the fact that the most numerous were the more serious and dangerous criminal offenses.

The excesses of the political character are not of worrying proportions in Croatia when compared with the total number of such offenses. However, the pronounced increase in the offenses of this kind during this summer, and their predominantly nationalist color, must be a signal for caution, if not for alarm.

According to the latest information of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Croatia, disturbing public peace and order with euphoric nationalist provocations particularly intensified after the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Knin. Between that event and the end of July, that is to say

within less than 1 month, charges were brought against 166 persons for arrogant incidents of insulting members of the Serbian or Croatian peoples, and thus all those citizens who are strongly in favor of brotherhood, unity, equality, and togetherness in this country. This upward trend of excesses with the political background continued this month. There were 34 incidents in the first 10 days of August alone. Foreign citizens also "contributed" to the incidents of this sort. During the peak season, charges were brought against 24 of them who insulted their host—Yugoslavia and its peoples. One fortunate thing in all this, according to the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Croatia and its list of different categories of offenses, is that there were not more serious cases.

Nevertheless, the meager information on the few criminal offenses of causing national hatred that are mentioned by the Republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration of Croatia in its report to the Croatian Executive Council, warns about the danger of nationalist specters which, obviously encouraged by the political mismanagement in the country, have come out in daylight. If this were not so, would the Croatians have been sworn at in Dalmatia, would the Yugoslav flag have been burned, would the cars with Serbian license plates have been stopped and drivers asked to produce documents by officials singing the Croatian national anthem? Would the people have destroyed gravestones written in the Cyrillic script, would the Serbs have been threatened with murder and the Bosnians with chains?

It is true that the prosecution and judiciary organs in this republic instantly react to every nationalist incident and wag their finger at every nationalist incident. However necessary this may be, it is not enough, just as the arrest of thieves and robbers is not enough, because the core of the matter has not been dealt with in either case.

If we want to get away from such a large number of "ordinary" and political crimes, Yugoslavia needs a "treatment" consisting of order, tolerance, and togetherness, it needs bread and a clean sweep. Even then there would be crazy and malicious people, but not enough of them to drive us crazy.

Commentary on Party Involvement in Economy

*AU 0609100189 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Aug p 1*

[Ivan Torov commentary: "The Prescription of the Impotent Is No Cure"]

[Text] It seems that in the deluge of constant ordeals caused by hyperinflation, name-calling, vociferous criticism, and dissatisfaction, Ante Markovic and his government have in recent days been faced with another, which is potentially the most serious. The increasingly loud choir demanding that the Federal Executive Council strike at inflation with a special "clear, brief, comprehensive, and concrete program" was joined by

the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at its last session.

Regardless of the specific compliments that Markovic and his team received for "opening the way to reforms of the economy," the party leadership forcefully rejects the government's conviction that all its activity is basically anti-inflationary and that therefore there is no need for any special programs.

It is not difficult to assume that the Federal Executive Council is also aware that raging inflation is not in its favor and that from day to day it is losing the position that it achieved at least declaratively in the ratings in March. This has recently been the object of a real militant rift on Yugoslav territory. This is probably the reason for the announcement of additional measures against inflation for September, but the highest officials of the Federal Executive Council continue to stress that "it has not occurred to them to implement the shock therapy" that many people are recommending and more and more aggressively imposing.

However, let us return to the stands of the party leadership. Like many before it, its latest statement also reveals quite a large amount of concern about inflation, as well as about the unbearable political and interethnic confrontations and clashes. For these reasons it should be understood that the party leadership believes that the ever-critical economic trends should be dealt with.

However, the way in which the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia did this brings forth some old and creates some new dilemmas about the position and role of party forums in conducting the country's economic policy. Not refuting the right of party leaderships to present their own views of trends in society, the bitter impression nevertheless remains that on this occasion as well, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has done this according to the old scheme of the political supervisor observing what is happening from a distance in order to then make his own judgment which should—according to political and party logic—be binding for all Communists who deal with the economy.

The basic uneasiness which is felt upon reading the statement can be reduced to the conclusion that the country's party Presidium has also actively included itself in the political-economic (primarily ideological) rift raging through Yugoslavia over whether a special antiinflation program should be formulated and what sort, that is to say over which therapy to apply in order to crush Yugoslav inflation. The political leadership is demanding from the Federal Executive Council and the Assembly a "clear, comprehensive, and concrete program," but it does not enter into details concerning, for example, what this program should contain. Since there is none of this, we are left to guess whether the party leadership is for or against shock therapy, and whether it has faith in the entire anti-inflationary policy of the Federal Executive Council.

The greatness of a policy is that it primarily surrenders the management of the economy to the experts, that is to those onto whom the responsibility for the success or failure of economic trends has also been transferred. In preparing the next congress, the League of Communists has stressed more than once that it must renounce its monopoly of authority and power over the state and the economy. However, this is not an aim that can be achieved through proclamations and congresses, but through a relentless struggle in which the illusion should not be nurtured that the party ruling elite will renounce at any level its privileges to manage the fate of society and people's lives.

By taking the stand that a special antiinflationary program should be compiled—even though this stand has not been voiced in a firm, imperative form—the Presidium has put itself in a position opposing Ante Markovic and his cabinet, as well as the Assembly which had given the "green light" to the government for its reform policy. Along with increasingly drastic and impudent pressure from certain communities and reported disputes with the IMF, this has considerably narrowed the Federal Executive Council's room to maneuver. It is not difficult to assume that the orientation of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia towards a special antiinflationary program could be interpreted in the government and the parliament not only as the presentation of one political forum's stand, but also as its own kind of political pressure, and an attempt to prejudice decisions made by the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly prior to the September session, when a lot of things concerning the future position of Markovic's government and its economic concept should be clearer. Regardless of the fact that as a supreme constitutional power the Assembly is not obliged legally and formally to adhere to the stands of the narrow party leadership (as it should conduct an independent economic policy), the fact is that the assembly system has not moved even an inch away from the well-known habit of the delegates' opinions being crucially influenced by the state-political leaderships in their republics. Since it is not believed that it will be any different in September, one can already use intuition

about what the balance of power will be among the delegates over the orientation concerning Markovic's economic platform.

Everybody knows that inflation cannot be crushed in a country in an atmosphere dominated by political and interethnic quarrels, confrontations, swindles, suspicions, and aggressive nationalist revivals, and in relations between leaderships and peoples which threaten far more dramatic twists and denouements. It is clear to everyone that herein lies the essence of the failure of the battle to crush inflation, as the clearest indicator of the depth of the crisis in which Yugoslavia finds itself. Reason and expertise have virtually no chance in such a climate and must make room for the irrational craziness which is uninhibitedly spreading.

It is on this ground that the party and its leaderships have suffered their worst defeats. Preoccupied with their own impotence, the struggle for power and superiority, and the defense of their own positions, the initiative has been surrendered to chaos, so that it seems to a more reasonable person that in the present situation—if we agree that miracles nevertheless do not happen so easily and quickly—it is impossible to reach a Yugoslav agreement or compromise in a united assault for reform and against inflation. Sessions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its Presidium most eloquently demonstrate the depth of the political and interethnic schism in our country and the inability to reach some kind of unified or common view in a concrete approach.

It thus seems that the political leaderships find it much easier to decide on some daily political-economic solutions than to be able (or to want) to have a crucial influence on calming down over-strained passions and the political atmosphere, in order to create at least the minimum of conditions for conducting a joint struggle against inflation. There is the justified fear that even the latest orientation taken by the narrowest party leadership of Yugoslavia favoring the formulation of an anti-inflation program could heighten even more the already heated political relations, which would do us all a disservice.